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THEOLOGICAL WORKS

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THEOLOGICAL WORKS

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HERBERT THORNDIKE,

SOMETIME PREBENDARY OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. PETER,

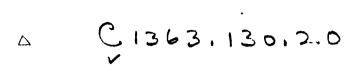
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TITLES OF TREATISES CONTAINED IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

I.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CHURCHES; A Discourse pointing at the Primitive Form. Printed by Roger Daniel, Printer to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1641. [and again in 1650.]

II.

OF RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES, AND THE PUBLICK SERVICE OF GOD: A Discourse according to Apostolicall Rule and Practice. By Herbert Thorndike. Cambridge: Printed by Roger Daniel, Printer to the Universitie, and are to be sold at the Angel in Lombard-street, in London. 1642.

III.

A DISCOURSE OF THE RIGHT OF THE CHURCH IN A CHRISTIAN STATE: by HERBERT THORNDIKE. London, Printed by M. F. for Octavian Pullen at the sign of the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1649.

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GOVERNMENT OF CHURCHES;

A DISCOURSE

POINTING AT THE PRIMITIVE FORM.

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TO THE MOST GRACIOUS

JAMES,

DUKE OF LENNOX, EARL OF MARCH, &c.,

LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS, KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, HIS VERY GOOD LORD.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE:

The advantage this slight worthless piece aimeth at in this address is of great consequence, but of a civil and moderate nature; it is no marvel if it desire to go forth under so great a name, that is not like to appear considerable to the world otherwise. But the countenance it demandeth is according as the cause may deserve: more it must not expect from your justice; less it cannot expect from your goodness. If it fail of the truth, it is a child rebellious to the father's intentions; and according to the law of Moses, here he bringeth him forth to receive his doom. If it have any thing considerable, in a cause wherein the world is so well informed long since, my suit is, that from your Grace's hands it may be derived to the public. The Lord of Heaven and earth bless your Grace with happiness of this life, and of that which is to come. So prays

Your Grace's

most humble Chaplain,

HERBERT THORNDIKE.

To the Lobers of Peace and Truth.

That style must serve me for a preface to this short discourse. The love of peace and truth, my hope is, hath made some impression in the reasons whereupon it proceedeth: and it were a wrong to the world to think that those marks can be offensive. My purpose was to contribute towards the true meaning of the Scripture in these matters: if I have failed of it, the attempt will deserve your excuse. But my heart telleth me not that I have set any text on the rack to make it confess more than it means. Ecclesiastical writers I have for the most part stripped of the authority which their years and merits in the Church have won, and produced them as witnesses at the bar of common sense, to make evidence from the historical truth of their sayings. The meaning of them is here translated and left to every man's apprehension to value; for when all is done, men must and will be judges for themselves.

H. T.

[In the first edition the latter part of this preface read thus; The meaning of them is for the most part either translated by their words or expressed in the current of my discourse. Sometimes it is left to every man's apprehension, &c.]

CHAPTER I.

THE APOSTLES EYE-WITNESSES OF OUR LORD, AND EAR-WITNESSES OF HIS DOCTRINE. ST. PAUL AN APOSTLE. MANY PERSONAL QUALITIES IN THEM. THEY WERE GOVERNORS OF CHURCHES.

HE that desireth to espy light at a narrow hole, must lay CHAP. his eye near, if he mean to discover at large. So must he be curious in considering the Scriptures, that meaneth to discern those things that are not declared there at large, but are collected by circumstance, or consequence; especially in matters which we view at this distance of time, which representeth to us things done then through a mist of succeeding custom. Those that seek for mines have their virgula divina, 2 a rod, which they hold even-balanced over the place where they hope for a vein, which if it hit right, the rod of itself bendeth towards the earth. Our Lord in the Gospel commandeth us to search the Scriptures, as men would seek for mines or treasure: let us keep an even balance of judgment, not bowing but as the vein of truth swayeth it; for if we put the grains of affection and prejudice into the gold scales which we weigh nice truths with, no marvel if the lighter go down.

§ 2. Now because the question concerneth the Apostles' time and the next to it, and the purpose is, to represent the form pointed at in Scripture, by comparing it with such passages of historical truth and primitive practice as shall seem best to express it, let us, in the first place, consider the nature of their charge, that it may appear how far the Church retaineth a succession of it. For true it is, divers personal qualities are requisite in an Apostle, because they were to preach the Gospel to all nations. They must be men to witness those The Apothings they had seen our Lord do, those words they had stles eyeheard Him speak, upon their own knowledge; and therefore of our Lord and men that had conversed with Him from the beginning of His car-witdoctrine. It is that St. Peter required at the choice of Mat-His docthias, Acts i. 21, "Of these men, that have companied with trine.

THORNDIKE.

CHAP. us all the while that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, must one be ordained for a witness of His resurrection with us." It is that the same Apostle challengeth, 1 Pet. v. 1; "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ," He condescendeth to the rank of presbyters, when he saith, "who am also an elder;" but he voucheth the privilege of an Apostle, when he addeth, "and a witness of the sufferings of Christ." 4

St. Paulan And his fellow-Apostle of the Gentiles to the same purpose, 1 Cor. ix. 1, "Am I not an Apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" As if to be an Apostle required one that had seen the Lord, which was supplied to him by his raptures and visions; as the hearing His doctrine was supplied unto him by that revelation by which he avoucheth to have received His Gospel, in the beginning of his epistle to the Galatians. This is that God had provided for satisfaction of common sense,-men that could witness, upon the credit of their eyes and ears, what they published.

Many per-sonal qua-lities in

§ 3. But it required greater matters to convince the world of those things which reason could not evidence: the gifts of the Holy Ghost, for knowledge, for language, for miracles, for all the like were requisite in a marvellous nature for those that undertook to preach the Gospel to all nations. This was the s Apostles' charge; and the power this charge importeth, the endowments it requireth, are personal, wherein no man pretendeth to succeed the Apostles. But the execution of this charge, reason telleth us, must needs proceed-and experience of that which is written telleth us it did proceed-according to the exigence of their several opportunities, concerted by consent among themselves; for so we find the chief Apostles, Gal. ii. 9, dividing their care between the Jews and the Gentiles.

§ 4. If it appear, then, that the Apostles, for their time, took were go-vernors of upon them the oversight of Churches of their own planting; Churches, if it appear, that an Apostle fixed his abode, and care both, upon some Church in several, though all the world were their diocese in common; well may we proceed, upon these terms, to make the Apostles Bishops of such and such Churches, and 6 Bishops successors of the Apostles; though neither for the extent of their charge, nor for their abilities to perform it, yet

because they are trusted with that oversight of one Church, CHAP. which the Apostles for their time afforded to all within their quartersa.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM UNDER THE CHARGE OF JAMES AND HIS PRESBYTERS. THIS WAS JAMES SON OF ALPHEUS. HOW HE WAS BROTHER OF OUR LORD. CLEOPHAS AND ALPHEUS BOTH ONE.

This is that we must stand upon in the first place, to aver the first pattern of the form, after which it shall appear that Churches were governed from the beginning by Bishops and their presbyters. It is to be seen in the first Church—the 7 Church of Jerusalem, mother of all Churches,-which we shall find under the charge of James of Jerusalem, one of the Apostles, and his presbyters; no doubt by consent and ap-The pointment of the Apostles, providing for the Church there of Jerubefore their departure from it. Wherein we shall not need to salem under the set up our rest upon the credit of Ignatius, or Clemens Alex-charge of andrinus—though either of them of age sufficient to witness his presas great a matter as this-having so many pregnant passages byters. of Scripture to aver it. The Apostle, relating his going up to Jerusalem to see Peter, Gal. i. 18, prosecuteth it thus in the next words, "But other of the Apostles saw I none, but James, the brother of the Lord." How cometh he to meet James at Jerusalem, when he went to see Peter there, more than the rest of the Apostles, but because he abode there at 8 his charge? And again, Gal. ii. 9, "And when James, Peter, and John, who seemed to be pillars, saw the grace of God that was given to me," &c., we shall not need to think James is put in the first place for nothing, when we have so fit a reason to give for it,-because they were then all at the place of his charge. For so you shall find it again in that most considerable action of the council at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 7, 13.

James and

* "For to succeed them (the Apostles) is after them to have that epissties) is after them to have that episcopal kind of power which was first given to them. 'All Bishops are,' saith St. Jerome, 'the Apostles' successors;' in like sort Cyprian doth term Bishops, Prapositos qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt. From hence it may

haply seem to have grown, that they whom we now call Bishops were usually termed at the first Apostles, and so did carry their very names in whose rooms of spiritual authority they succeeded."

—Hooker, Book vii. iv. 3, pp. 186, 7. ed. Keble, 1836.

CHAP. The decree of the council, as it is resolved upon St. Peter's reasons, so is it framed and drawn up in St. James' terms, ver. 7, 13; the one, as first of the Apostles, the other, as having the charge of the Church there; which still further appeareth by that which is read, Gal. ii. 12, that "before some came from St. James, St. Peter ate with the Gentiles; but when they-came, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing those of the circumcision." We see St. Peter taketh advice of St. James; as likewise afterwards St. Paul, at his last coming to Jerusalem, Acts xxi. 20, went in to James, 9 where all the elders were present, to advise with him that had the care of that Church about the great business in hand, -how to behave himself towards those of the circumcision that believed. Now of the college of presbyters at Jerusalem, and of their concurrence and assistance with this James in the government of the Church there, we have three unreprovable arguments in the Acts of the Apostles. The first, in disposing the maintenance of the poor; whereof we read, Acts xi. 30, that the benevolence of the Church of Antiochia was sent to the clders at Jerusalem by the hands of Saul and Barnabas, to be disposed of by them, but ministered and laid out by the deacons, as shall be shewn afterwards. The second is found in the passage of the council at Jerusalem, wherein their concurrence appeareth in that which is resolved, Acts xv. 2, 10 that "Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and elders about that question." And ver. 4, "being come to Jerusalem, they are received of the Apostles and elders." Again, ver. 6, "the Apostles and elders came together to consider of this matter." And, ver. 22, "it pleased the Apostles and elders, with the whole Church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas." And the letter in the next verse runneth in the name of the Apostles and elders. All to argue the concurrence and assistance of the presbyters with the Apostles, which were then present there, besides James, which had the particular charge. The third is, that which hath been remembered at St. Paul's last going to Jerusalem, where we find the elders assembled with James, as his assistants, in advising with St. Paul about the matter on foot; for it is plain, 11 that the advice whereupon he proceedeth in a matter of that

weight, is given him by James and the presbyters both, as CHAP. we read there b, verse 20. "And they said unto him," that is, - 11. James and the elders. This James of Jerusalem I make no This was scruple to reckon among the Apostles, because St. Paul hath son of done it afore mec. For it is plain that he speaketh of no Alpheus. other but the twelve, so called by our Lord from the beginning, Luke vi. 13. Because of them the question might have been made, whether he had received his doctrine from them or not, which he there denieth. And therefore it is plain, this James can be no other than James son of Alpheus, reckoned in the Gospels among the twelve,-James the son of Zebedee, brother of John, being put to death by Herod before, Acts xii. 2.

12 § 2. On the other side, when St. Paul calleth him "brother How he of our Lord," without doubt he meaneth no other but him that was brois called in the Gospels "James the less," brother of Joses Lord, and son of Mary, Matt. xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40; the same Mary, no doubt, that is called, John xix. 25, "Mary of Cleophas," sister to the blessed Virgin. First, because these Gospels speak of the same women that stood by our Saviour's cross; and again, because the brethren of our Lord are reckoned, Mark vi. 3, James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon. So that all the difference that hath been about the Cleophas several Jameses and Maries remembered in the Gospel, is and Alextinguished by making Alpheus and Cleophas both one in the language then in use, though divers ways written in the Greek. A thing nothing strained: for though Cleophas be otherwise written in the Syriac-because it is translated out of 13 the Greek-yet the Syriac name Chalpai may be expressed either by Alpheus or Cleophas, which is also written Clopas in some copies, John xix. 25, and in Hegesippus, quoted by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. iii. 11.

§ 3. This I perceive, since the writing hereof, to be the opinion of Lud. Capellus, who hath alleged St. Hierome against Helvidius d, to strengthen it, where he maketh Mary of

Johannes Evangelista cognominat. Tom. iv. p. 138, ed. Bened.—Ludovici Capelli Spicilegium post messem; ad Evangel, secund. Mare, cap. vi. 3. p. 39. ad Cale. Joh. Cameronis Myrothecii. Evangelici. Genevæ, 1632.

b Acts xxi. c Gal. i. 19.

d Restat conclusio, ut Maria ista, quæ Jacobi minoris scribitur mater, fuerit uxor Alphæi, et soror Mariæ matris Domini, quam Mariam Cleophæ

CHAP. Cleophas, sister of the blessed Virgin, the wife of Alpheus, and mother of James the less. Wherewith agreeth Clemens Alexandrinus in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. ii. 1, where he acknowledgeth but two Jameses,-the son of Zebedee, and this James of Jerusalem mentioned by the Apostle. And herewith agreeth St. Chrysostome, upon that text of the Apostle, where he observeth, that for St. James' honour, St. Paul calleth him "brother of our Lord," whereas he might as well have called him "son of Cleophas," as the evangelist had 14 done. Here it is plain, that James the brother of our Lord, and son of Cleophas, is the Apostle, son of Alpheus, according to St. Chrysostom. As for that which followeth-that nevertheless he was not of kin to our Lord according to the flesh, but according to the opinion of the world-it seemeth to depend upon Hegesippus in Eusebius, iii. 11, where he maketh Cleophas brother to Joseph, supposed father of our Lord; which is possible to be true, that Joseph and Cleophas brothers should take to wife the two Maries, sisters or cousins. But otherwise there is so much appearance in the Gospel, that Mary mother of James and Joses is Mary of Cleophas, sister to the blessed Virgin, that it must needs be an inconvenience to deny this James to be kin to our Lord by her side f.

§ 4. As for other relations and conjectures of Church-writers 15

" ' λλλ' δρα καὶ τοῦτον μεθ' ὅσης τιμῆς ἀνόμασεν. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ἀπλῶς ' ἰδιαωβον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σεμνολόγημα προσέθηκεν... εἰ γὰρ σημῶναι ὑν ἐλεγεν ῆθελεν ἐνῆν καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρου γνωρίσματος τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ὅῆλον, καὶ εἰπεῦν τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἔλεγεν.. οὐ γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν οῦτως, ὡς εἶπον, ἀλλὰ πῶς; τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου. Καίτοιγε οὐδὲ κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφὸς ῆν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀλλ' οῦτως ἐνομίζετο.— In Gal. i. 19. tom. iii. p. 724. ed. Savil.

f Hæc sententia constat, primo, quia hic fuit Apostolus. Sie enim vocat eum Paulus ad Galat. i. cum ait " alium Apostolorum vidi neminem it " alium Apostolorum vidi neminem

f Hæc sententia constat, primo, quia hic fuit Apostolus. Sie enim vocat eum Paulus ad Galat. i. cum ait "alium Apostolorum vidi neminem nisi Jacobum fratrem Domini" sed inter Apostolos duo tantum numerantur Jacobi, Matth. x. 2, Marci iii. 16. et Lucæ vi. 14. (ut notarunt Chrysostomus Hom. 33, in Matthæum. et Theophylact. in Matth. x.) Jacobus Zebedæi et Jacobus Alphæi. At Jacobus frater Domini non est filius Zebedæi est ergo Jacobus Alphæi. Præterea, quia Ja-

cobus frater Domini dicitur minor et Jacobus Zebedæi major: ejusmodi autem comparatio non fit nisi inter duos, sunt ergo tantum duo Jacobi. Demum quia Ecclesia duos tantum Jacobos celebrat Apostolos, Jacobum Zebedæi, et una cum Philippo Jacobum Hierosolymitanum qui si non fuisset Jacobus Alphæi reliquisset profecto hune sine festo, quod esset mirabile. Ne ergo tam absurdam rem asseramus, tanquam satis probabile, confiteri oportet duos tantum extitisse Jacobos, et Jacobom fratrem Domini eundem esse cum Jacobo Alphæi.—Historia Deiparæ, cap. 1, p. 43, a Christophoro de Castro, in ostio aureæ Moguntiæ, 1610.

g Christophorus de Castro, in the place mentioned in the last note, enumerates many writers who have considered that James the son of Alphæus was a different person from James the brother of our Lord, and the first Bishop of Jerusalem. Francis Combefis, -the variety whereof is endless and unreconcilable-it is not CHAP. reason to draw them into consequence to the prejudice of a conjecture which maketh so clear an agreement of this whole difference. It was my desire to shew the true meaning of the Apostle's words; but it is not my purpose to build upon uncertainties. Whosoever this James of Jerusalem was, we find the Church of Jerusalem under his charge, almost as soon as there was a Church there; at least, if we believe Ignatius, Epist. ad Trall.h, where he saith St. Stephen was deacon to this James of Jerusalem, which must be betimes after our Lord's death. And therefore thus we see whom the Bishops of Jerusalem succeed.

CHAPTER III.

THE APOSTLES PLANTED MOTHER-CHURCHES IN MOTHER-CITIES. THE GOVERNMENT OF THEM ESTATED UPON PRESBYTERIES. ST. PAUL AT THE BEGINNING MADE NO BISHOPS OVER THOSE PRESBYTERIES. THE REASON. HIMSELF HAD THE OVERSIGHT OF THE CHURCHES OF HIS PLANTING FOR THE TIME. THE LIKE IN THE CHURCHES OF ST. PETER'S

LET us now go abroad with the Apostles, and see how they The Apofollowed this pattern in the Churches which they converted ed mother to the faith. Tertullian Lib. de Præscript. [adversus Hære- Churches in mother ticos], c. 20, speaketh thus of them: Ac proinde Ecclesias cities. apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt. This slight circumstance, which he but pointeth at,-that the Apostles founded Churches in cities,-is very considerable in our business. For it is plain, they could not bestow their pains 17 on all places: reason required they should labour most to plant the faith in the most populous. And common sense,

in a very elaborate and learned note upon the tract of S. Hippolytus, De duodecim Apostolis, considers them distinct persons. S, Hippol. Opera, ed. Fabric. Hamburg, 1716. p. 34—39. See on the other side the Commentaries of Estius upon 1 Corinth. xv. 7. and

λ Λειτουργοῦντες αὐτῷ λειτουργίαν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον, ὡς Στέφανος ὁ ἄγιος τῷ Ἰακώβφ τῷ μακαρίῳ, ἄς.—Ερί-

stol. Interpol. c. vii. tom. ii. p. 66. ed. Coteler. The genuine Epistles of S. Ignatius had not been discovered when Thorndike wrote this book. He did not, however, look upon them as he found them, without suspicion; and whatever exceptions may be made to his use of the interpolated writings in controversy, he has fairly answered in the 3rd chapter of the Rights of the Church in a Christian State.

CHAP, and the least knowledge of times, will serve to shew, that from thence it was propagated through the countries that lay to those cities, which therefore in time became and were called the territories, parishes, or dioceses of such or such Churches.

The government of them upon pres-byteries.

§ 2. Now the form of government estated by St. Paul over these Churches is pointed out to us, Acts xiv. 23, where we read, in the end of their first journey, that Paul and Barnabas, "having ordained them presbyters in every Church," returned to Antiochia. But unto Titus the Apostle writeth thus, Tit. i. 5: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou mightest set in order the things that are wanting, and constitute elders in every city, as I had appointed thee:" "elders in every Church" in the one place, and "elders in every city" in the other; both to the same effect: not meaning one in a 18 place, but presbyteries, that is, colleges, bodies, companies of presbyters, with common advice to order the Churches planted in these cities. Such a college of presbyters it was that we spoke of in the last chapter, instituted by the Apostles in the Church of Jerusalem; the pattern whereof St. Paul followeth in the Churches which he converted out of the Gentiles. And thus in the Church of Ephesus, you shall see St. Paul, Acts xx. 17, sending for the bench of clders there to Miletus. Thus in the Church of Philippi, you shall find that the Apostle directeth his epistle to the Bishops and deacons there, which must be to the college of presbyters, next above the order of deacons. Thus when the Apostle writeth to the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. v. 12, "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord," the multitude, whereof 19 he speaketh, is to be understood of the like company of presbyters. Thus in Ignatius' epistles, you shall find him, up and down, reckoning next after the Bishops the presbyteries of all the Churches to which he writeth. 'The like in St. Cyprian's epistles, for the presbyteries of Rome and Carthage. To spare more words, in all Church-writers you shall find continual remembrance of these presbyteries, whensoever there is speech of mother-Churches in mother-cities. And therefore those we are to understand, when we read that Paul and Barnabas ordained presbyters "in every Church," and Titus "in every city." And such bodies, or colleges of presbyters,

they were, to whom the Apostle committed the Churches CHAP. which he had planted.

§ 3. But this being granted, the question will be in the next st. Paul 20 place, where are the Bishops, the chief and heads of these at the beginning presbyteries? For had the Apostle, from the beginning of made no Bishops his planting these Churches, placed that rank over these over those presbyters, it is like we should have found some remembrance teries. of it. Now these presbyters are styled by the name of "Bishops," as hath been observed ever since St. Hierome; and which is more-to aver the observation for this purpose -neither in the relation of his planting and ordering the Churches, nor in the style of his epistles, nor in his instructions concerning ministers of these Churches, is there any remembrance or respect to be found but of presbyters and deacons; which in so much eminence of place, so much difference of Bishops' office, if any then had been, could scarce have come to pass; and maketh me conclude, that the Apostle ordained none such from the beginning over the 21 presbyteries. No Bishop the Apostle had yet settled at Ephesus when he used these words to the presbyters there, Acts xx. 28, "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made you Episcopos, Bishops or Overseers;" for as he giveth the name to the presbyters, so he addresseth his instructions to none besides. None at Philippi, when he directed his epistle to the "Bishops and deacons" there, neither the custom of the Church bearing more than one Bishop in one Church at once, nor being a thing reasonable to think, if any such had been, that the Apostle would not have found a room for him in the style of his epistle. None in the Churches within the charge of Timothy and Titus-set aside their own persons, whereof we shall give account afterwards-in whose instructions the Apostle is large in qualifying Bishops and deacons; such 22 Bishops as we read of, Tit. i. 7, where, having said that "he left him in Crete, to make presbyters in every city," the Apostle addeth, "for a Bishop must be blameless;" but of any other rank, not a syllable. None in the Church of Corinth. The Commentaries under St. Ambrose's name

These Commentaries have been atone, the work of Hilary of Sardis, a tributed to different persons; the more probable opinion is that they are, if of The Quæstiones upon the Old and New

CHAP, yield this reason of the disorders the Apostle taxeth there, 1 Cor. xi. 21, because there was no Bishop there. The words are not of ordinary mark: Hos notat qui sic in ecclesiam conveniebant, ut munera sua offerentes advenientibus presbyteris,-quia adhuc rectores ecclesiis non omnibus locis fuerant constituti, - totum sibi qui obtulerant, vindicarent schismatis causak. "He taxeth those who assemble so unto the Church, that offering their gifts to the presbyters that came-because governors of the Churches were not yet established in all places -those that had offered challenged all to themselves in the way of schism." So whereas that, whereof the Eucharist was consecrated, should be spent by the assembly in the common feast of love, some made good cheer; others, that had not offered, went away without their share. Therefore saith the Apostle, ver. 22, "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? 23 or despise ye the Church of God?" coming thither for dissension's sake and belly-cheer, not for the Sacrament and for peace? and "shame them that have not," sending them away without entertainment? Therefore, ver. 33, he exhorteth to "stay for one another" at their meetings. Thus far out of those Commentaries. Which reason, as it giveth a clear meaning to the whole passage of the Apostle, so it groweth still more probable, because we shall find afterwards that it continued still in force at the time of writing Clemens' epistle, published not long since1. And men of learning have argued, that this reason might better be yielded for their dissensions,-"saying, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas;" which the Apostle reproveth in the beginning of the epistle, to wit,-because there was then no Bishop there, and in the Apostle's absence.

The reason. Himself had the oversight of the Churches of his planting for the time.

§ 4. And indeed, if we reckon not amiss, what reason have 24 we to think that this Apostle should ordain in the Churches of his planting a higher rank of Bishops to govern the Churches, above and with the presbyters? Do we not see that he chargeth himself with the oversight of these Churches wherein he had planted the colleges of presbyters aforesaid, 2 Cor. xi. 28, "Besides those things which are without, that which

Testament, that have gone under the name of St. Augustine, are supposed to be the work of the same writer.

k S. Ambros. tom. ii. col. 148, App.

ed. Ben.

1 By Patricius Junius. (Patrick Young) Oxford, 1633.

cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches?" To CHAP. what purpose else is the journey he taketh, Acts xv. 36, to visit the Churches, wherein he had ordained presbyters afore? "Let us return," saith he to Barnabas, "and visit our brethren in all cities where we preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do." We see he taketh care to exercise discipline upon the incestuous person at Corinth-which it seemeth the 25 rulers of the Church there had neglected to do-1 Cor. v. 4, pronouncing sentence of excommunication, and requiring the Church to see it ratified and executed. And for a thing remarkable, observe in what terms he proceedeth, 1 Cor. v. 4, "When ye are gathered together, and my spirit," saith he; his "spirit," which ruled there in chief for the time. So that it is not for nothing that Tertullian, Lib. de Præscript. [adv. Hæretic.], cap. 36, reckoneth Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and the rest of the same rank, all apostolical Churches, from this one Apostle, because he planted and ruled them all for his time. Apud quas, saith he, ipsæ adhuc cathedra Apostolorum suis locis præsident; which is, in good English, neither more nor less than here is affirmed. The Apostle's chair rested in them all till Tertullian's time; therefore the Apostle for his time sat in it. And to my apprehension, all his epistles are nothing else but so many 26 acts of this government spiritual in chief, which the Apostle reserved himself in the Churches of his own planting.

§ 5. The like to be said of St. Peter's epistles, and hath been The like observed in part by Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 4.m; in the Churches that the title of his former epistle, addressed to "the strangers of St. dispersed through Pontus, Asia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and charge. Bithynia;" that is, to the Jews sojourning in those provinces, argueth it to be a work of his care, in preaching the Gospel to the charge he had undertaken, according to the division alleged before, Gal. ii. 9. And therefore, as hath been hitherto argued of the other Apostle, so when we see St. Peter, 1 Pet. v. 1, direct his exhortation to "feed the flock" to none but presbyters, we have cause to conceive that those

γουμένης αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολης ην τοις ἐξ Εβραίων οδσιν έν διασπορά Πόντου καὶ Γαλατιάς, Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ 'Aσίας, καὶ Βιθυνίας γράφει. p. 73. ed. Vales. Paris,

m Kal εκ τῶν Πέτρου δὲ λέξεων, ἐν — και εκ των μετρου σε λεξεων, εν όπόσαις και οῦτος ἐπαρχίαις τοὺς ἐκ Περιτομῆς τὸν Χριστὸν εὐωγγελιζόμενος τὸν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρεδίδου λόγον, σαρὲς ἄν εἴη, ἀφ' ῆς εἰρήκαμεν ὁμολο-

CHAP. Churches to whom he writeth—and whom we shall hear Epiphanius say anon that he went sometimes from Rome to visit 27 -had as yet no Bishops over their presbyters. The same that St. Hierome hath argued long since out of Hebrews xiii. 17ⁿ, where the Apostle writeth in the plural number, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves."

CHAPTER IV.

AS THE APOSTLES WITHDREW, SO BISHOPS CAME OVER THE PRESBYTERIES IN THEIR STEAD. TIMOTHY AND TITUS HAD NOT THEIR CHARGE TILL ST. PAUL LEFT THOSE PARTS. HIS JOURNEY FROM EPHESUS, THROUGH MACEDONIA, INTO GREECE. BY THE WAY HE LEFT TITUS IN CRETE. WHY HE WINTERED AT NICOPOLIS. AT SPRING, HE RETURNED BY LAND INTO MACEDONIA. THERE AND THEN TIMOTHY UNDERTAKETH THE CHURCH OF EPHESUS. TIMOTHY AN EVANGELIST. THE PROPHECIES THAT WENT BEFORE OF HIM, AND THE GRACE HE RECEIVED. TITUS AND HE OVER MANY PRESBYTERIES. BISHOPS OVER EACH AFTERWARDS. THE

As the Apostles withdrew, so Bishops the presin their

Timothy and Titus had not charge left those

But as the Apostles began to wear out—or otherwise as their occasions gave them not leave to attend in person upon the Churches of their care—reason required—if but in corre-29 spondence to the state of government that had hitherto rested in some Apostle and the presbyteries of particular Churchesthere should be instituted some heads of these companies of presbyters, to whom the name of Bishops hath been appropriated ever since; and certain it is, that during the time of the Apostles instituted they were. This agreeth extreme well with the charge and instructions of the Apostle to his disciples Timothy and Titus, over the Churches of Asia and till St. Paul Crete; whom as all ecclesiastical writers after Eusebius acknowledge to be made Bishops of Ephesus and Crete, so must we not fail to observe here, that this was not done till it was revealed to the Apostle that from thenceforth the Lord would employ him in the western parts of the world.

§ 2. The business is most an end agreed upon on all hands; 30

" Et hic diligentius observate quomodo unius Civitatis Ephesi Presbyteros vocans, postea cosdem Episcopos dixerit. Si quis vult recipere cam Epistolam, quæ sub nomine Pauli ad Hebræos scripta est; et ibi æqualiter inter

ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

plures Ecclesiæ cura dividitur. quidem ad plebem scribit: Parete principibus vestris, &c.—Comment. in Ep. ad Titum, cap. i. 5. col. 413. tom. iv. ed. Ben.

28

me take leave to enlarge it by clearing the whole passage of $\frac{1V}{\text{His jour-}}$ the Apostle's last voyage from Ephesus, through Greece, and ney from back again. Acts xix. 21, we read at that time, "Paul re-through solved, by the Spirit, having passed through Macedonia and Macedonia into Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, When I have been there, Greece. I must also see Rome." In 2 Cor. i. 15-17, he writeth to them, that he had formerly purposed to go first to Corinth, thence into Macedonia, from Macedonia to Corinth again, and of the Corinthians to be brought on the way for Judea. "When I then purposed this," saith he, "did I use lightness? or what I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay?" signifying, that, not taking up his resolutions upon human considerations, 31 it was no lightness in him to balk his intended purpose, to follow the direction of the Holy Ghost, in going first through Macedonia, God having so ordered it, it seemeth, for the reason that followeth. The first epistle to the Corinthians was sent from Ephesus about this time. From Ephesus it is plain it was sent, though subscribed from Philippi-for those subscriptions, it is well known, are of no credit-by the salutations he sendeth, 1 Cor. xvi. 19, from the Churches of Asia, from Aquila and Priscilla, which dwelt there, Acts xviii. 19; and after his first resolution was changed, because he saith, 1 Cor. xvi. 5, that he meant to "pass through Macedonia." 2 Cor. ii. 12, the Apostle, relating one passage of that voyage not mentioned in the Acts, "When I came to Troas," saith he, "to preach the Gospel of Christ, a door being opened me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not 32 Titus my brother; but, taking leave of them, I departed thence into Macedonia." Titus he desired to meet with, because he desired to hear from Corinth by him, that was coming from thence, 2 Cor. vii. 6. For, as he protesteth, 2 Cor. i. 23, it was to "spare them that he came not yet to Corinth;" "not yet," as being directed by the Spirit to go first through Macedonia, and to spare them, that is, not to be engaged to proceed rigorously against them, in case they gave not due respect to

his former epistle. From Macedonia he despatcheth Titus to Corinth again, about the business specified, 2 Cor. viii. 6, 16; and it is most like, upon these circumstances, that both those

yet, because the observation is so effectual to this purpose, let CHAP.

> § 3. To go on with the Apostle in this voyage, Acts xx. 2, 3, we read, that having gone over the parts of Macedonia, and "given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and 33 there abode three months." In this journey, let me be bold to affirm, it was that the Apostle put in at Crete, to preach the Gospel there: the relation agreeth so well from point to point, that I will use no other words to persuade it is true, but the coherence of it. From Ephesus, then, the Apostle parteth at Pentecost, 1 Cor. xvi. 8. By the way at Troas he stayed not, but came straight into Macedonia, 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13. From thence, having despatched Titus for Corinth, 2 Cor. viii. 6, 16, 17, going by sea for Greece, he putteth in at Crete, to preach the Gospel there; and meeting with Titus-returned from Corinth-in this journey, leaveth him in Crete, to constitute presbyters in every city, and to finish those things which he, for the strait of time, was fain to leave undone. And thus his three months being spent in Greece, he found winter at Corinth.

left Titus in Crete.

Why he wintered at Nico-polis.

§ 4. There he had once thought to have wintered, 1 Cor. xvi. 6, and that the Corinthians should bring him on his journey; which there he expresseth not, but, 2 Cor. i. 16, it is for Judea. But understanding the Jews laid wait for him as he returned into Syria by sea, Acts xx. 3, he taketh a resolution to winter at Nicopolis, whereof he certifieth Titus, appointing him to meet him there at spring, Tit. iii. 12. This was a convenient rendezvous for the Apostle, in the meanwhile, to preach the Gospel in the parts of Epirus, as far as Illyricum; which he purposed to do when he wrote to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. x. 15, 16, that when his spirit was in quiet in regard of them, he had hope "to preach the Gospel in the parts beyond them;" and which he affirmeth to have done, Rom. xv. 19, where he writeth, that from Jerusalem to Illyricum he had "fully preached the Gospel of Christ." And therefore, 35 with leave, I suppose the epistle to the Romans is rather to be dated from hence than from Corinth, as the subscription goeth: for before this, it could not be sent; after this, we find not that he returned to Corinth. From whence being new come, he might send commendations from Gaius, his

[The epistle to the Romans to be dated from Illy-ricum.]

host at Corinth, Rom. xvi. 23, 1 Cor. i. 14; and by Phebe CHAP. he might write, seeing him in passing by the coast of Epirus, from Corinth to Rome.

§ 5. When winter was spent, from Dyrrachium, the confines At spring of Epirus—where he had wintered at Nicopolis—and Illyricum he re--whither his doctrine was got-the journey by land was short by land into Maceand good to Thessalonica in Macedonia, by the great road in donia. Strabo called "via Egnatiao;" so that in good time, after the days of unleavened bread, he might sail from Philippi, as we 36 read he did, Acts xx. 6. This for Titus.

§ 6. As for Timothy's case, thus we read, 1 Tim. i. 3, "I There and besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into thy under-Macedonia." The sound of these words maketh Baronius p taketh the Church of believe that Timothy was left with his charge at Ephesus upon Ephesus, the beginning of this voyage of the Apostle through Greece. And he had Theodoret q to go before him in the conceit; for in his preface to St. Paul's epistles, he concludeth, that the first epistle to Timothy was sent from Macedonia when the Apostle passed through it. But it is easy to perceive that this cannot stand with the Scriptures. He that sent Timotheus, and Erastus before him, into Macedonia, Acts xix. 22, how could he leave him Bishop at Ephesus? Besides, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, iv. 17, xvi. 10, it is plain that he was then sending Timothy to Corinth, though he over-37 took him before he got thither, in Macedonia; for afterwards Timothy was with him in Macedonia, at the sending of his second epistle to the Corinthians, as appeareth by the beginning of it, and with him he was at his return into Asia through Macedonia, Acts xx. 4. It remaineth, then, that the Apostle, coming through Macedonia to go into Asia, began then to move Timothy to stay at Ephesus, 1 Tim. i. 3, and to take

^o Τῆ Ἐγνατία ὁδῷ ἀπὸ Δυβρακίου πό-λεως πρὸς ἀνατολάς ἰούση ἐως Θεσσα-λονικείας. — Strabon. Rer. Geograph. Excerpt. ex libr. sept. fin. p. 508, ed. Amstelod. 1707.

p Ac illud in primis quod venturus in Macedoniam, rationem habens Ecclesiæ Ephesinæ, ne penitus Pastore destitutam relinqueret ut ejus neces-sitati prospiceret, Timotheum dis-cipulum omnium amantissimum inibi remansisse voluit, Id enim Paulus, e

Macedonia primam ad eundem scri-bens Epistolam, testatur his verbis "Rogavi te" &c. ad annum 57, n. 186. (189. ed. Mansi.)

(189. ed. Mansi.)

⁴ Δήλον τοίνυν, ώς ήνίκα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τὴς Ἐφέσου παρεγίνετο εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, τότε τὸν πάντα ἄριστον Τιμόθεον ἐκεῖ καταλέλοιπεν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν δεξαμένων τὸ σωτήριον κήρυγμα.—Β. Theodoreti Præfat. in Epist. S. Pauli, p. 4. tom. iii, ed. Sirmond. Paris, 1642.

CHAP. upon him the charge of the Churches of Asia. Which being - accordingly agreed and done, he sendeth him before with the rest of his company into Asia, as we read Acts xx. 4, 5, not knowing then how soon himself should follow them. For thus he writeth, 1 Tim. iii. 14, 15, "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I stay, that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God." Therefore it is plain, that he sendeth him this epistle 38 of instructions after their parting from Macedonia, but before his coming to Ephesus; it seemeth while he stayed for him at Troas, as we read Acts xx. 5. And thus we may well understand the words of Athanasius in Synopsi-though Baronius allege him for his purpose-because he saith no more but this, that the first to Timothy was sent from Macedonia *. But the Apostle having resolved, if it were possible, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost, Acts xx. 16, maketh haste, and overtaketh his company at Troas, Acts xx. 6. And thus we see the reason why there is no respect of Timothy in his instructions to the elders of Ephesus, Acts xx. 18, because that then he began to enter upon his charge there, and because of the instructions he had received from the Apostle by his first epistle, besides word of mouth. So the upshot of all this 39 discourse is thus much, that within compass of the time of this voyage—at the beginning whereof the Apostle said in the Spirit, that "when he had been at Jerusalem, he must also see Rome," Acts xix. 21-at the midst whereof he writeth to the Romans, chap. xv. 23, that "he had no more place in those parts"-and at the end whereof he saith to the elders of Ephesus, Acts xx. 25, "And now behold, I know that all you, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more;" knowing by revelation that he was to serve God no more in those parts-he appointeth his two disciples Timothy and Titus to be in his stead over the Churches of Asia and Crete.

Timothy an evangelist. § 7. Now that the charge of Timothy and Titus giveth them a power as great as that of Bishops was from the beginning, no question is made: if they prove not more than so, the business is clear. For true it is, something not ordinary in 40

Adannum 57. n.187. (190 ed. Mansi.)
 Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας.
 198. tom. ii. ed. Ben.

Bishops we must acknowledge in Timothy's person when he CHAP. is called an "evangelist," 2 Tim. iv. 5, "do the work of an "evangelist." To which we must refer that grace whereof the Apostle speaketh, 1 Tim. iv. 14, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, that was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." Whereof again, 2 Tim. i. 6, "I put thee in mind that thou stir up the gift that is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." And, 1 Tim. i. 18, "This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy, ac-

cording to the prophecies that went afore of thee."

§ 8. In this the disciple's case is somewhat like the Apostle's, The proas you shall see it anon, Acts xiii. 2, where the prophets in that went the Church of Antiochia, having foretold through the Holy before of Ghost what God would do in the planting of His Gospel by

41 his hands and Barnabas, and declared His will for setting them apart for that purpose; hereupon they receive imposition of hands. So, likewise, we must conceive that these prophecies went afore of Timothy, to inform the Church of the will of God concerning him, and the work He had appointed him to perform. As for the grace he receiveth by And the imposition of hands, what other can any man imagine it to be grace he received. than that which is designed in the name of an evangelist, which the Apostle meant when he said, Ephes. iv. 11, that our Lord hath given to His Church, "some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists?" Or how can we further distinguish it otherwise from the gifts of Apostles and prophets, than [by] placing it in the extraordinary temporary endowments of the Holy Ghost, enabling such persons, according to the exigence of that time, to publish the Gospel, and to 42 persuade it? which, nevertheless, cometh short of the personal quality of witnesses of our Lord and His doctrine, and of the measure and kind of those graces of miracles, lan-

§ 9. But he that would draw this into consequence, and argue that Timothy was no Bishop, because an evangelist t, may, with more reason, conclude that Philip was no deacon because he was an evangelist, and contradict the Scripture that saith,

guages, and the like, that make an Apostle.

Bishop, it will be manifest that Timo-thy and Titus were evangelists and no Bishops,"-Smectymnuus, sect. xiii. p. 48

^{*} And to any man that will but understand and consider what the office of an evangelist was; and wherein it differed from the office of a presbyter or

CHAP. Acts xxi. 8, "we entered into the house of Philip the evan-- IV. gelist, which was one of the seven." For if an Apostle, in that eminence of graces and privileges—nevertheless abiding upon a certain charge, and taking care of it—is to be counted Bishop of a particular place, as was argued afore *, much more may an evangelist for his extraordinary gift be a Bishop for his several charge: which is to say thus much in English, that the gift of an evangelist may fall upon any 43 rank of ordinary ministers; as we see Philip, for his place in the Church, one of the seven deacons at Jerusalem, Acts vi. 5, is nevertheless an evangelist, for the graces God had bestowed upon him, by his means to convert Samaria to the faith, Acts viii. 5. Nay, further, if the gift of an evangelist be competible with a deacon's place, it must be granted that Timothy, as an evangelist, is no governor of Churches.

Titus and byteries.

§ 10. And whereas it is argued, that it was but a commission many Pres- for the time, which Timothy and Titus are trusted with from the Apostle, because it appeareth they were other-whiles employed otherwhere by the Apostle, 2 Tim. iv. 9, 10—as any Bishop in case of public necessities of the Church must be without the Apostle—let me be bold to affirm, that the rules of continued settled government, directed to them by the Apostle to be executed by them in their persons, are suffi-44 cient evidence that they were appointed by him for perpetual governors, and not for temporary commissaries. Indeed, as there is something more than ordinary in Timothy's person, so is there something more than ordinary in Titus' charge, in that he was "left in Crete, to ordain presbyters in every city," Tit. i. 5; by which, as appeareth in the sequel of the epistle, the Churches of those cities were to be governed under Titus, as was observed afore. The like to be said of Timothy, whose instructions, qualifying presbyters and deacons alone, leave him alone superior to all the presbyteries he should institute according to his instructions.

* Chap. ii. sect. 1.

Dalmatia. All which doth more than probably shew, it never was the intendment of the Apostle to fix Titus in Crete as a Bishop, but only to leave him there for a season, for the good of that Church, and to call him from thence, and se him abroad to other Churches for their good, as their necessities might require." –Smectymnuus, sect. xiii. p. 51.

y "All these journeys to and fro did Titus make at the designment of the Apostle, even after he was left in Crete, nor do we find that after his first removal from Crete, he did ever return thither: we read indeed, 2 Tim. iv. 10, he was with Paul at Rome, and from thence returned not to Crete, but into

§ 11. Now, if we observed the custom of the Apostles, hitherto CHAP. set forth, of instituting presbyteries in populous cities, and Bishops 45 observe the custom of the Church after their time, wherein a over each Bishop was always head of one of these presbyteries-Quid est enim Episcopus, nisi primus presbyter, hoc est, summus sacerdos? saith St. Augustine z, "for what is a Bishop but the chief of the presbyters?"-it will not be hard to espy a difference between the place of a Bishop and the extent of their charge. For it will not serve the turn to say, as some do, that Titus was Archbishop of Cretea, and so entrusted with divers Churches; for an Archbishop is a chief among Bishops, not a person to govern divers Churches, seats of bishoprics. And therefore Titus was not Bishop of all the Churches in Crete by being Bishop of the chief city of itb. But, in the meantime, let me use Epiphanius'c words: "The Apostles could not settle all things uniformly 46 at once." Is it a reasonable thing to argue, that because St. Paul taketh no order for the heads of these presbyteries which were not yet made, therefore he did not intend there should be any such in the Church? Rather let me argue, that because St. Paul left two of his principal disciples in two principal places, with charge to plant presbyteries as there was means to propagate Churches, therefore he gave a pattern of that which these disciples, and all the Church was to do afterwards, in settling the government of those Churches, in the presbyteries of them, and in their heads, which themselves were for the time.

§ 12. And this we shall find was done in good time in the The Churches of Timothy's charge, if we take but a short con- Angels of the seven sideration of the beloved disciple John the Apostle and Churches. Evangelist, what we find concerning him in Scriptures, or 47 otherwise received and credible in this nature. He lived

of provinces, or according to the precedence of places, wherein the em-perors, or chief temporal powers, made their residence." These words were replaced in the second edition by those beginning with "And therefore," ending with "city of it."

Οὐ γὰρ πάντα εὐθὺς ἡδυνήθησαν οἱ Απόστολοι καταστῆσαι.—Hæresis 75.

vsus Aërium, cap. v. p. 908. ed:

^{*} Quæstiones ex utroque mixtim.-

Tom. iii. Append. col. 93. ed. Ben.

* Hinc a Paulo creatus est Archiepiscopus Cretæ, aliarumque vicinarum insularum.—Cornel. a Lapide in 1 Epist. ad Titum. Comm. argument. I.

b "Besides that, these degrees among Bishops came in afterwards, when the Church became incorporate | state of the Roman the charge of Churc

CHAP. longest of all the disciples, as is said: and he will easily shew us Bishops over the Churches of Timothy's charge; for such, without doubt, were the seven Churches of Asia, unto whom the Apostle, sending from our Lord seven epistles—ii. and iii. chapt. of his Revelation-directeth them to the "Angels" of those Churches; a style not competible to a person of common rank,—and the act of directing epistles to one in the name and behalf of the whole Church arguing the eminence of the head, fit to answer for the body he representeth.

> § 13. Herewith agree the words of Clemens Alexandrinus, in Eusebius iii. 23, concerning this Apostle, that being returned from Patmos to Ephesus, he used, upon request, to go among the neighbour nations, ὅπου μὲν Ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, οπου δε όλας Έκκλησίας άρμόσων, όπου δε κλήρφ ένα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινομένων d,—that is, 48 "in some places to constitute Bishops"—to wit, where there were presbyteries afore that yet had none—" in some to found whole Churches, in others to ordain a clergy out of such as were signified by the Spirit," as we read of St. Paul and Timotheus. For will you have these to be Bishops according to the use of the word in St. Paul, where it is all one with "presbyters?" Sure we must needs think of such as his own writings make Angels of Churches. Ignatius, that was his disciple according to some, in all his epistles specifieth, and sometimes by name, the Bishops of some the same Churches, and some of others, together with their presbyteries; and in particular Onesimus, Timothy's successor at Tertullian h and Irenæus i, the most ancient we can allege, have named Polycarpus in particular, made Bishop of Smyrna by this Apostle. It is not possible to say more in 49

§ 14. So often as we find mention of government in particular Churches in Scripture, so often we meet with presbyteries, or

d The passage is found in the "Quis dives Salvetur," cap. xlii. p. 959. ed. Venet. 1757.
"In others to ordain a clergyman,

some one of those that were signified by the Spirit." Second edition.
These words, "the use of," are

omitted in the second edition,

Epist, ad Ephes, cap. i.

h Hoc enim modo Ecclesiae Apo-

stolicæ census suos deferunt; sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert. De Præscript. adv. Hæretic. cap. xxxii. p. 337. ed. Pam.

i Οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ᾿Αποστόλων μαθητευθείς . . . άλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ᾿Αποστόλων κατασταθείς είς την 'Aσίαν εν τη εν Σμόρνη εκκλησία επίσκοπος. — Adversus Hæreses, lib. iii. cap. 3. p. 176. ed. Ben.

the heads of presbyteries, Apostles themselves, or deriving CHAP. their charge from the Apostles. Nay, it is very much,-not pretending that Bishops came on otherwise than to be instead of the Apostles over particular Churches,-that there is so much to be said for their office out of Scriptures all written during their time.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESBYTERY AT ANTIOCHIA. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL HEADS OF THE CHURCH THERE; LIKEWISE OF THAT AT ROME. THE DIFFERENCE ABOUT THEIR NEXT SUCCESSORS. EPIPHANIUS' CONJECTURE UPON IT. ANOTHER. CLEMENS SUCCEEDED ST. PETER, AND LINUS ST. PAUL. THE SUCCESSION OF THE APOSTLES THERE IS UNQUESTIONABLE.

THE Church of Antiochia is remembered next to that of The pres-Jerusalem in the Acts of the Apostles, but of the government bytery at Antiochia. thereof we have nothing so distinct or express in Scripture. Yet this we read, Acts xiii. 1-3, "Now there were in the Church at Antiochia certain prophets and teachers. And as they ministered unto the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for the work 51 whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away." That these prophets and teachers were all of them presbyters of that Church, is more than can be affirmed, because it is no where set down. But when we read that they "ministered unto the Lord"-which must be understood of the service of God in their assemblies, especially in celebrating the Eucharist-and gave "imposition of handsk," which cannot signify the ordination of Paul and Barnabas to the work there specified, being appointed by the Holy Ghost, but the benediction of them, which was the solemnity of putting them into the office 1.

§ 2. Now, as concerning the heads of this Church, we must st. Peter have recourse to Ignatius' epistle ad Magnesianos m, where Paul heads

¹ See Cornelius a Lapide on the place, who quotes Arias, Cajetanus, and Suarez for the statement in the text, though he dissents from it himself.

[&]quot;We find among the number of The next sentence began "For." them the works of ordinary ministers, when there was no higher rank than that of presbyters able to do the like." These words in the first edition were in the place of those beginning with "which cannot," ending with "office."

m Πεπλήρωται πρώτως έν Συρία έν 'Αντιοχεία γάρ έχρημάτισαν οί μαθηταί

Church there.

CHAP, he useth these words, "For at Antiochia the disciples were first called Christians, Paul and Peter founding the Church." And in the epistle ad Antiochenos,—if it be his, as the other unquestionably is ,—Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου γεγόνατε μαθηταί: 52 μνημονεύσατε Εὐωδίου, δς πρώτος ενεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν ᾿Αποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν,—that is, "Ye are Paul's and Peter's disciples. Remember Euodius, that first had the rule of you put into his hands by the Apostles." Be he what he will be that wrote this-let me be bold to say-it agreeth marvellous well with what hath been said, and with the Scripture. In which it is plain, there were at the beginning two congregations of Christians at Antiochia; one of the circumcision, the other converted from the Gentiles, because St. Peter, Gal. ii. 12, "fearing those of the circumcision, withdrew himself, and ate no more with the Gentiles." In regard of the care of which two congregations, performed by St. Peter and St. Paul, according to the division agreed upon, Gal. ii. 9, the words of Ignatius are to be verified, where he maketh both Apostles founders of the Church at Antiochia; who, finding themselves employed in 53 other parts of the world, took the same course with this Church which St. Paul did with those he commended to Timothy and Titus, and put both congregations—by that time united and concorporate in one-under the charge of Euodius, predecessor to Ignatius.

Likewise of that

§ 3. These two Apostles are usually counted founders of the Church at Rome, as well as of that of Antiochia. Irenæus, iii. 3: q Fundantes igitur et instruentes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandæ Ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his quæ sunt ad Timotheum epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus: post eum tertio loco ab Apostolis episcopatum sortitur Clemens. "Therefore the blessed Apostles, founding and constituting the Church, delivered to Linus the

Χριστιανοί, Παύλου και Πέτρου θεμελι-ούντων την έκκλησίαν.—Ερ. Interp. cap. x. tom. ii. p. 60. ed. Coteler.

ⁿ Adscript. Epist. ad Antiochen. c.

then published.

P So Baronius also. Rom. Martyrol. Feb. 1. not. b. p. 60. Antwerp, 1613.

9 Θεμελιώσαντες οδν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ᾿Απόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνω την της επισκοπης λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν, τούτου τοῦ Λίνου Παύλος εν ταις πρός Τιμόθεον επιστολαίς μέμνηται. - p. 176. ed. Ben. apud Euseb. Hist, Eccles, lib. v. c. 6. p. 170. ed. Vales.

vii. p. 111. ib. Probably he meant that St. Ignatius' epistle to the Magnesians was upon the whole to be taken for his writing; without answering for the particular form in which these epistles were

bishopric for governing it. Of this Linus St. Paul maketh CHAP. mention in the epistles to Timothy. Him succeedeth Anacletus. After him in the third place from the Apostles the lot of the bishopric falls to Clemens." Where you see he referreth the foundation of that Church to both the Apostles, as doth Dionysius also of Corinth, some hundred and twenty 54 years after their death, in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. ii. 257, and others of later stamp sans number. Whereupon Epiphanius*, Hær. 27, reckoning the succession of the Bishops of Rome, putteth Peter and Paul in the first place.

§ 4. But yet observe further the difference between the The differwords of Irenæus-which put Linus after the Apostles-and their next the Latin Church, which, according to St. Hieromet, Catal. successors. Script. in Clem., reckoneth Clemens in that place; which Tertullian, the most ancient of that language, lib. De Præscript,", averreth. To which difference we may ascribe the confusion that Baronius hath observed in the pontifical book under the name of Pope Damasus*, an ancient piece, but pieced indeed out of several writings, and cross to one another divers times. As for the purpose: when it maketh Linus to succeed the Apostles and suffer martyrdom the 55 same year-who nevertheless sitteth twelve years according to Eusebiusy-whereas Cletus, next in order unto him, beginneth seven years after in time; but Clemens, third in rank, one year after Linus, suffering in the third year of Trajan, long after both their deaths.

§ 5. Epiphaniusz, in the place afore named, stumbling, as Epiphait seemeth, at the credit of those that put Clemens first, pro- jecture poundeth this conjecture: Εἴτ' οὖν ἔτι περιόντων [τῶν 'Απο- upon it. στόλων] ύπο Πέτρου λαμβάνει την χειροθεσίαν της επισκοπής, καὶ, παραιτησάμενος ήργει λέγει γὰρ ἐν μιὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν

* Κορινθίων Έπίσκοπος Διονύσιος έγγράφως 'Ρωμαίοις όμιλων, ὧδέ πως παρίστησιν. Ταῦτακαὶ όμεις διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νουθεσίας, τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενηθείσαν 'Ρωμαίων τε καί Κο-

ρινθίων συνεκεράσατε.—p. 68. ed. Vales.

* 'Εν 'Ρώμη γὰρ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ 'Απόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ 'Επίσκοποι, εἶτα Λίνος, εἶτα Κλῆτος, &c. - Contra Carpocratianos, Hæres, 27.

cap. 6. p. 107. ed. Colon.

^t Tametisi plerique Latinorum secundum post Petrum Apostolum putent fuisse Clementem.—Tom. iv. col. 107.

" Sicut Romanorum [Ecclesia] Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit. cap. xxxii. p. 337. ed. Pam.

Ann. 69. n. 35-38. et ad ann. 384. n. 16 et 17.

* Printed in the collections of the

Councils.
γ Λίνος Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας δυοκαίδεκα την λειτουργίαν ένιαυτοϊς κατασχών.—Hist. Eccles. iii. 13. p. 87. ed. Vales. * Contra Carpocrat, Hæres. 27. cap. 6. p. 107. ed. Colon.

CHAP. αὐτοῦ, ᾿Αναχωρῶ, ἄπειμι εὐσταθείτων ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τισὶ τοῦτο συμβουλεύων (ευρομεν γαρ έν τισιν υπομνηματισμοίς τοῦτο ἐγκείμενον.) "Whither then during the time of the Apostles, he was ordained Bishop by Peter, and declining it, sat still, for he saith in one of his Epistles, I withdraw, I depart, let the people of God be in quiet, advising some so, (for this we find couched in some records)." These words of Clemens, quoted by Epiphanius, are yet extant in his epistle to the Church of Corinth, published not long since^b; wherein he telleth him, that was the occasion of the schism he writeth against there, that a generous man and so forth, would say in that case, "I depart; I withdraw: let the people of God 56 be in quiet." Epiphanius, it seemeth, meeting them at the second hand, alleged for Clemens' advice to some man mentioned in the epistle c-as they are indeed-conceived nevertheless they might have reference to his own case, advising to withdraw, and give way to Linus and Cletus, for the quiet of the Church; which now, by reading the epistle, proveth otherwise. Besides, he sticketh not to digest the inconvenience of admitting more than one Bishop in the same Church at once. For because, according to his conjecture, Linus and Cletus, as well as Clemens—that gave way to them—must be made Bishops by the Apostles, he addethd, that Bishops might be made there during the time of the Apostles, because they travelled sometimes from Rome-St. Paul into Spain, as indeed he purposeth, Rom. xv. 24; St. Peter into Pontus and Bithynia, whither he directeth his first epistle-and must 57 not leave the Church unprovided there.

Another. Clemens St. Paul.

§ 6. But if it be worth the while to vent a conjecture that succeeded shall avoid this inconvenience, and make all good that is reported by these ancient Fathers, that matters of circumstance. wherein they are at difference, destroy not their credit in the main, wherein they are at agreement,—let this be mine, that there were at Rome from the beginning, as at Antiochia, two

λους πολλάκις έπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πατρίδας τὴν πορείαν στέλλεσθαι, διά το κήρυγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων πόλιν άνευ έπισκόπου είναι. 'Ο μέν γαρ Παῦλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱσπανίαν ἀφικνεῖο Πέτρος δὲ πολλάκις Πόντον τε καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἐπεσκέψατο.—Epiphan. ut supr.

[·] Εὐσταθείτω, Junius : ἐνσταθήτω, Petavius.

^b By Junius, in 1633. ^c Cap. liv. p. 177. ed. Coteler.

ά Πλην άλλα και οῦτως ηδύνατο ἔτι περιόντων των 'Αποστόλων, φημί δε των περί Πέτρον και Παθλον έπισκόπους άλλους καθίστασθαι, διά τὸ τοὺς 'Αποστό-

congregations of Christians, one of the circumcision, the other CHAP. of the Gentiles; that St. Peter was head of the one, St. Paul of the other, according to the division aforesaid; that after their death, Linus, who was deacon to St. Paul-if we believe Ignatius in the epistle to the Trallianse-succeeded him over the one; Clemens, who was deacon to St. Peter-according 58 to the same author there—succeeded him over the other; till both congregations,-being concorporate and united in one,came to bef governed by Clemens that survived.

§ 7. And if any man be so disfavourable, as upon these differences of the by to discredit the main, let him know, that though he allow not the pillars of the Church in their time the credit of discreet men, to have reason for what they report, yet must he allow Irenæus and Tertullian to be men of common sense, when they allege the succession of Bishops in the Churches of that time-wherein that of Rome is always one-for an evidence of the faith which had been preserved in them ever since the Apostles; the force of the reason lying in that which Calving hath exceeding well observed,-that it was a thing known and received at that time, that de facto the faith which the Churches professed came by 59 succession from the Apostles, from which succession the heretics were fain to separate, and make congregations apart, wherein to profess the belief which themselves had devised.

§ 8. Be all the world judges now, whether a man in his The sucright senses would appeal to the succession of Bishops, if it of the had been a thing questionable whether any such were or not. Apostles therein The like is to be said of Optatush, and St. Augustine¹, when unquestionable.

· Τί δὲ Διάκονοι; ἀλλ' ἡ μιμηταί τῶν Τι όε Διακονοι; αλλ η μιμηται των αγγελικών δυνάμεων, λειτουργούντες αύτῷ λειτουργίαν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον, ώς Στέφανος δ ἄγιος Ἰακώβψ τῷ μα-καρίφ, καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Λῖνος Παύλφ, καὶ ᾿Ανέγκλητος καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρφ.—Ερ. Interp. cap. vii. p. 66. ed. Coteler. " Came to be:" " became," first collision.

edition.

Sed quum extra controversiam esset, nihil a principio usque ad illam ætatem mutatum fuisse in doctrina, sumebant quod omnibus novis erroribus conficiendis sufficeret, illis oppugnari constantia et unanimi consensu re-tentam.—Institut. lib. iv. cap. ii. § 3. p. 279. Again, Objicit illis Augustinus, quas illi repudiabant Ecclesias, et a quibus discessionem fecerant, continua erie ab ipsis Apostolis fluxisse. Optimo id quidem jure, quum eas in recepta semel doctrina perstitisse, Donatistæ agnoscerent.—Vera Eccles. reform. rat.

p. 279. ed. Amstelod. 1667.

h Ergo cathedram unicam, quæ est prima de dotibus, sedit prior Petrus: cui successit Linus, Lino successit Clemens Damaso Siricius, hodie qui noster est socius, cum quo nobiscum totus orbis commercio Formatarum, in una communionis societate concordat,-De Schismate Donatistarum, lib. ii. c. 3, pp. 31, 32, ed. Du Pin. Antwerp. 1702. Si enim ordo Episcoporum sibi

CHAP. they appeal to the succession of Bishops in the Church of

V. Rome to prove the Donatists schismatics, not communicating
with the lawful successors, both of the faith of the Apostles,
which both sides granted, and of their places, from which
they argue.

CHAPTER VI.

60

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE BISHOP OF ATHENS. ST. MARK OF ALEXANDRIA. NO BISHOP AT CORINTH WHEN CLEMENS WROTE HIS EPISTLE. HOW THEY WERE PROPAGATED, AND BY WHAT BULE.

Dionysius the Areopagite, Bishop of Athens.

Thus we are out of the Scripture; but because we are not yet out of the time of the Apostles, I will name further Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Paul's convert, Acts xvii. 34, because there is so ancient a witness to depose for him, Dionysius of Corinth, some hundred and twenty years after that, averring, in Eusebiusk, that he was the first bishop of Athens.

St. Mark of Alexandria. § 2. And so the last I will name shall be the Church of Alexandria, and that for St. Hierome's sake, and in his words, because he it is that is persuaded, and persuadeth men to think, that the order of Bishops came in by mere custom of 61 the Church, to avoid schisms that arise for want of heads. In his epistle to Evangelus¹ thus we read: Nam et Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant. "For at Alexandria also, from Mark the Evangelist till Dionysius and Heraclas were Bishops, the Presbyters were wont to choose one of their number, whom they placed in a higher seat, calling him Bishop." How that can be said to come in by custom for avoiding of schism, which was practised at Alexandria from

succedentium considerandus est, quanto certius et vere salubriter ab ipso Petro numeramus, cui totius Ecclesiæ figuram gerenti Dominus ait Super hanc petram adificabo Ecclesiam meam et portæ inferorum non vincent eam, Petro enim successit Linus, Lino Clemens, Clementi Anacletus, &c. In hoc ordine successionis nullus Donatista Episcopus invenitur.—Epist. 53. ad Generosum coll. 120, 121 tom. ii. Again

Numerate Sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede,

Et in ordine illo Patrum, quis cui

successit, videte.

Cont. part. Don. Ps. t. ix. col. 7. ed. Ben.

κ' Ως καὶ Διονύσιος δ 'Αρεοπαγίτης
ὅπο τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου προτραπείς
ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι
δεδηλωμένα, πρῶτος τῆς 'Αθηναίων παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχείριστο.— Hist.
Eccles. iv. 23. p. 144. ed. Vales.

κίας την ἐπισκοπην ἐγκεχείριστο. — Hist. Eccles. iv. 23. p. 144. ed. Vales.

¹ Ep. 101. ad Evangelum, tom. iv. col. 802. ed. Bened. This letter is generally cited "ad Evagrium;" the Benedictine editors discovered the mistake, and made the correction, which is now inserted in Thorndike's text.

Mark the Evangelist, let St. Hierome devise; it shall serve CHAP. our turn, that so it was there from the Apostle's time.

§ 3. Otherwise it is reasonable enough to believe that, No Bishop upon such occasions, Bishops came in over some Churches, in at Corinth when Cleparticular, the Church of Corinth, in which we find a schism, menswrote hisepistle. but can find no Bishop at the time of writing Clemens' epistle, some few years after the death of the Apostles; because the reason produced aforem, to argue that there was no 62 Bishop at Corinth when St. Paul wrote his epistles, continueth still in force at the time of writing Clemens' epistle. For, p. 52n, he is very earnest with them to keep due order and decorum in bringing their oblations, and celebrating the Eucharist; for when he nameth there τὰς προσφοράς καὶ λειτουργίας, by the one, we must understand the species of fruits of the earth, and meats, which the people offered, out of which the Eucharist being celebrated, the rest was spent in the Agapa, or feast of love, to which the words of the Apostle are to be referred; by the other, the Eucharist, for celebration whereof he is so earnest with them to keep due order in their assemblies; alleging that those things which the Lord had commanded to be done, those He had not commanded to be done disorderly and at random, but at set times and 63 seasons, when and by whom they should be done. Where God hath appointed an order, when and where, and by whom Christians should celebrate their assemblies, is not to be found in Scripture further than the Apostle's rule, 1 Cor. xiv. 40, "Let all things be done decently and in order." It seemeth he argueth from the pattern of the Levitical priesthood; for so it followeth, p. 53, Τώ γαρ αρχιερεί ίδιαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι είσί, &c.—" To the high-priest," saith he, "are assigned his proper services," Which further appeareth when he urgeth the example of their sacrifices, that were offered before the temple, being first visited δια του άρχιερέως καλ τῶν προειρημένων λειτουργῶν, p. 54,—"by the high-priest and the foresaid ministers." But the presbyters of that Christian Church he exhorteth with these words: "Eκαστος ύμων, άδελφοί, εν τῷ ίδίω τάγματι εὐχαριστείτω Θεῷ, εν ἀγαθῆ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὡρισμένον τῆς λει-

[&]quot; In chap. iii. sect. 3 and 4. tom. i. p. 168. ed. Coteler. Ed. Junii, Oxon. 1633. Cap. xl.

C Η Α Ρ. τουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα—"Brethren," saith he, "let every one of you give thanks to God"—that is, "celebrate the Eucharist,"64 in his language,—"in his own order, being in a good conscience, not stepping out of the set rule of his ministry." Perhaps his meaning is, that they should celebrate by turns.

§ 4. Howsoever, here is my reason, that there was then no Bishop there, because then there could not have been so much debate about the order in celebrating the assemblies of Christians; which, as shall be shewed afterwards, were not to be held but upon appointment of the Bishop, with advice of the presbyters, being a mark of schism to assemble otherwise. And if this be not enough, there is another to second Whatsoever may be argued from the dissensions at Corinth, one saying, "I am of Paul," another, "I am of Cephas," to shew that there was no Bishop there when the Apostle wrote this, and in his absence, still continueth in force at the time of writing Clemens' epistle; the whole sub-65 ject whereof is to quell such another dissension as this, but only that it was not under such colourable names of Paul, and Cephas, and Apollos, as he complaineth, but-which is remarkable to prove my intent—was, as he saith, p. 62^p, a mere faction, for the love of one or two persons, against the presbyters, no Bishop bearing any part either at one end or other of it. Neither is it marvel that this Church should be still without a Bishop for some ten or twenty years, perhaps, after the death of the Apostle, so many companions of the Apostles being then alive—Clemens at Rome, Titus in Crete, Timothy at Ephesus, Dionysius at Athens, others elsewhere—to furnish whatsoever assistance they had received from the Apostle during his time, no otherwise than did Timothy and Titus to those Churches, wherein they had planted presbyteries 66 before they had Bishops.

How they were pro-

§ 5. And therefore, if any man ask the question how Bishops came to be propagated through all Churches: the answer must be, they were made in due time by the heads of neighbouring Churches; which we shall discern anon, when we come to speak of the course held from the beginning in the

174. ed. Coteler. ^q In chap. xii.

o In chap. x. Ρ Δι' εν ή δύο πρόσωπα στασιάζειν πρός τους πρεσβυτέρους.—Cap. xlvii. p.

choice and constitution of Bishops. And by the practice of CHAP. the Church, it should seem the aim was afar off to propagate Bishops according to the first practice of the Apostles. For as they planted presbyteries to govern mother-Churches in mother-cities, so, when it became questionable which Churches should have Bishops and which not, the matter was regulated according to the greatness of cities, or the multitude of presbyters which the service of the Churches in them required, 67 whereof the Bishops were to be heads. And therefore, in the council of Sardicas, can. vi. it is provided, that there should be no Bishop in towns or small cities where one presbyter might serve; but in those places where Bishops were of old time, or if a place became so populous that it might deserve to have a Bishop; that is, either in cities that had been so populous of old time as to have Bishops, or which should afterwards become so populous. But the seventeenth canon of the Chalcedon councilt, providing against innovation in dioceses, taketh order nevertheless, that when a place is promoted by the emperor to be a city, the form of the Church shall go along with the form of the commonwealth; that is, it shall have a Bishop, and his diocese the territory of that city. There is here a difference in the particular, and yet the same general ground of both canons,-the practice of 68 the Apostles, ordaining presbyteries to govern the Churches which they had planted in cities, the heads whereof were Bishops after their departure". And this seemeth to be the reason why the seats of cathedral churches are wont to be cities. And by this means Italy is so full of bishoprics, be-

r Vid. Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. pt. i. lib. i. c. iii. See "The Epilogue," bk. iii. c. 18.
* Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἀπλῶς καθιστῷν ἐπί-

cause it is so full of cities.

Μή εξείναι δε ἀπλῶς καθιστῶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν κώμη τινὶ ἡ βραχεία πόλει, ἡ τινι καὶ εἶς μόνος Πρεσβύτερος ἐπαρκεῖ. οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἐπισκόπους ἐκείσε καθίστασθαι, ἴνα μἡ κατευτελίζηται τὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου δυομα καὶ ἡ αὐθευτία, ἀλλὶ οἱ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ὡς προεῖπον, ἐπίσκοποι ἐν ταὐταις ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστῷν ἐπισκόπους ὀφείλουσιν, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον ἐτύγχανον γεγονότες ἐπίσκοποι. εἰ δὲ εὐρίσκοιτο οῦτως = ١ - · · · · · ἐν

col. 661. ed. Venet.

* Εί δέ τις έκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἡ αδθις καινίσθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτψ.—Concil. Chalcedon. A.D. 451. Labbei, tom. iv. col. 1688. ed. Venet.

¹¹ So the sixth council of Paris, A.D.

a So the sixth council of Paris, A.D. 829: Sicut unicuique Civitati convenit proprium habere Episcopum, ita et unamquamque Basilicam Deo dicatam decet et oportet proprium habere presbyterum.—Labbei, tom. ix. col. 740. ed. Venet. And before this time, A.D. 755, Ut Episcopi debeant per singulas Civitates esse.—Concil. Vernense, Labitom, viii. col. 417.

CHAPTER VII.

PRESBYTERS GOVERN WITH THE APOSTLES IN SCRIPTURES. NOTHING DONE IN THE CHURCH WITHOUT THEIR ADVICE. WHY BOTH RANKS ARE CALLED "SACERDOTES," "PRESBYTEBI," "ANTISTITES," AND THE LIKE.

CHAP. VII. Presbyters govern with the Apostles in Scriptures.

HAVING hitherto justified the ground whereupon we go, and shewed that Bishops came after the Apostles to be heads of presbyteries, in consequence hereunto it must now be averred, that the government of Churches passed in common 69 by Bishops and presbyters, as from the beginning the presbyters governed with the Apostles themselves. If in that great action of the council at Jerusalem, the elders of that Church bore their part with the Apostles, what cause have we to think they did less when they were dispersed, St. James alone remaining there? If they concurred with St. James in his advice to St. Paul about a matter of greatest weight,how to deal with those of the circumcision that believed,shall we imagine they did not do the like with his successors? If St. Peter call the presbyters of the Churches to which he writeth his "fellow-elders," it is to the purpose to put them in mind of their share in that office which he chargeth himself with. If the Apostle of the Gentiles charge the elders of the Church of Ephesus, Acts xx. 28, with their part of that care of Christ's flock after his departure, which he for his time 70 had performed over them, shall we think them eased of it because Timothy came to be Bishop there? Rather let me conceive this to be the cause why Timothy's instructions are addressed in the singular number to him alone, without mention of his presbyters,-because they were to receive their charge by themselves about the same timex: so far is it from me to think, that his presbyters were not to concur in assisting that course of government, wherein he alone is directed by the Apostle to proceed. And if we can go no further in proving this point out of Scripture, the reason must be, because—as appeareth by that which hath been said—the Scriptures for the most part speak of that time when Bishops yet

^{*} See ch. iv. sect. 6.

were not, but the Apostles themselves. To which purpose, CHAP. 71 nevertheless, there will be still something to be said out of the Scriptures, in the particulars which we shall survey.

§ 2. In the meantime, let us take notice of a few passages, Nothing done in the among many more, out of ecclesiastical writers, to argue the Church general whereof we speak. Ignatius Epist. ad Trall. Y, Ti without δέ πρεσβυτέριου, saith he, άλλ' ή σύστημα ίερου, σύμβουλοι advice. καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου,—we cannot understand righter what the presbytery meaneth than out of these words, "What is the presbytery but a college or bench of assessors to the Bishop in sacred matters." The Commentaries under St. Ambrose's name, upon 1 Tim. v. 12, speak home to this purpose,-Nam apud omnes utique gentes honorabilis est senectus: unde et Synagoga, et postea Ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia. "For truly age is honourable among all nations; whereupon the Synagogue, and afterwards the Church had elders, without whose advice nothing was done in the Church." This is as much as can be demanded, when we hear that nothing was done in the Church-to wit, by the Bishop-without the 72 advice of his presbyters. The same is affirmed by St. Hierome upon Titus i. 5: a Antequam, diaboli instinctu, studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ, communi presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiæ gubernabantur. "Before there came factions in religion by the instinct of the devil, and it was said among the people, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas, Churches were governed by common advice [of the presbyters]." In that St. Hierome thinketh there were no Bishops till Churches were forced to that course to avoid schisms, it hath been shewed he is not in the right^b; but in that he affirmeth that at first Churches were governed by common advice, we may well hear him speak in so good company of witnesses. Last of all, St. Cyprian having said, once for all, epist. vi.c, Quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro [pres-

Fepist. Interp. cap. vii. p. 66. ed.

^{*} St. Ambros. Opp. tom. ii. col. 298.

^{413.} ed. Ben.

^b Chap. vi. sect. 2. ^c Ep. xiv. p. 33. ed. Oxon. 1682, in which the reading is, "Sine consensu." ed. Ben.

* St. Hieronymi Opp. tom. iv. col.

plebis, meå privatim sententiå gerere,"
that in the text being the common one.

CHAP. byterorum et diaconorum], et sine consensu plebis meæ, privata

sententia gerere, "seeing I have resolved from the beginning of my bishopric to do nothing upon my private judgment, without the advice of you (the presbyters and deacons) and the consent of my people,"-how well he observed it, is yet to be seen in the passage of divers businesses related in his epistles. Out of which the like is to be conceived of the presbyters of Rome, by those things that are touched there. 73

Why both ranks are called dotes. "Presbyteri." "Antisthe like.

§ 3. And this is the true reason why many times—especially among the most ancient Church-writers—Bishop and presbyters both are comprised in the same styles and names, not because there were then no Bishops—as some men imagine but because both states concurred in the same office. Clemens, in the epistle aforesaid, page 54d, speaking of the ministries instituted by the Apostles, saith thus, Kaθέστανον τὰς ἀπαργὰς αὐτῶν, . . . εἰς Ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν,—that is, "they made the first-fruits of believers overseers and ministers"—that is, Bishops and deacons-"of those that should believe." It seemeth, indeed, that Clemens calleth the presbyters Bishops, because as yet there was no other Bishop there, as was proved afore; for so the word is used in St. Paul's epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, for the same reasons, as hath been said. But in Igna-74 tius' epistle to Heroe, his deacon at Antiochia, you have these words: Μηδεν ἄνευ των Ἐπισκόπων πράττε. Ἱερεῖς γάρ εἰσι, σὺ δὲ διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων,—"do nothing without the Bishops," that is, without the presbyters, "for they are priests, thou a minister of priests," who were indeed Bishops in Ignatius' absence, when this is pretended to be written. And be he who he will be that writ it, I believe it will not often be found that presbyters are called Bishops in any monument of Church-writers after this time, unless it be in these words of Tertullian, De Præscript. c. iii, Quid ergo, si Episcopus, si diaconus, si vidua, "What then if a Bishop, if a deacon, if a widow," &c., where putting the deacon next to the Bishop, he seemeth to comprise the presbyter with him in the same style. For afterwards the name of Bishops became appropriate to the heads of presbyteries; as we heard St. Hierome

⁴ Ed. Junii. Cap. xlii. p. 170. ed. c Cap. iii. p. 114. ed. Coteler. Coteler. Chap. vi. sect. 2.

say of the presbyters at Alexandria, that the head whom they CHAP. 75 chose themselves out of their own number, they named "Bishop" of Alexandria.

§ 4. Otherwise, as it is well known that the name of "sacer-sacerdos" is common to both estates, in regard of the offices of divine dotes. service which were performed by boths, so in regard of the government of the Church, common to both, are they many times comprised together in the common style of "presbyters," the name of their age, or antistites, προεστώτες, præpositi, and the like, the names of their chargeh. For as the Apostle maketh himself an elder when he writeth to them in this style, 1 Pet. v. 1, "The elders I exhort, who am also an elder," so is the like to be observed in that well-known passage of Clemens Alexandrinus', related by Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. iii. 23, concerning the youth which St. John the Apostle 76 commended to the Bishop of a certain place. Clemens, proceeding in the relation, addeth, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος—"but the Presbyelder," saith he, "taking the youth home to his house;" &c. calling him a "presbyter" whom he had named a "Bishop" but just afore. So Tertullian, Apologet. c. 39, describing what was wont to be done in the assemblies of Christians, addeth Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti; "Elders all approved are presidents having obtained the honour by testimony not by reward;" not meaning to tell us that there was no Bishop to be seen at these meetings-for in his book De Præscript., where he nameth Polycarpus, whom we alleged afore, cap. 32, Bishop of Smyrna, he speaketh as much of Bishops that succeeded the Apostles in the rest of the Churches of their planting,-but comprising both ranks and estates in one name of "elders;" and that, upon the reason specified in the commentaries under St. Ambrose's 77 name, upon 1 Tim. iii. 8k, where he giveth the reason why the

Presbyteri sacerdotes vocantur, quia sacrum dant, sicut et Episcopi, qui licet sint Sacerdotes, tamen Pontificatus api-cem non habent.—Isidor. Hispal. Etymol. lib. vii. cap. xii. 21. tom. iii. p. 342. Rom. 1798.

Ac videntur universe, quicumque Ecclesiam administrabant, per illud tempus nomen utrumque consecuti, ac tam Episcopi, vocati quam Presbyteri: quorum nominum, alterum a curatione et inspectione; alterum ab ætate primum, tum ab honore ac dignitate sumptum est.—Dion. Petavii Theologic, Dogm. de Eccles. Hierarch. lib. iv. cap. xi. 2. tom.

iv. p. 142. Antverp. 1700.

Quis dives salvetur, cap. xlii. p. 959. ed. Venet.

^{959.} ed. Venet.

J Chap, iv. sect. 13.

Post Episcopum tamen diaconatús ordinationem subjecit. Quare, nisi quia Episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est? Uterque enim sacerdos est, sed Episcopus primus est, ut omnis

CHAP. Apostle passeth straight from Bishops to deacons; because, saith he, "every Bishop is a presbyter, though every presbyter is not a Bishop, who is the chief of presbyters." And the true St. Ambrose1, Offic. i. 20. Viduarum ac virginum domos, nisi visitandi gratia, juniores adire non est opus: et hoc cum senioribus, hoc est, vel cum Episcopo, vel, si gravior est causa, cum presbyteris-" It is not expedient that the younger go to the widows' and virgins' houses unless it be to visit, and that with the elders," saith he; "that is, with the Bishop, or if need be with the presbyters." Justin Martyr, in his first'm Apology, relating the orders of Christians in their assemblies, having spoken of reading the Scriptures, "Then," saith he, "the reader having done, ὁ προεστώς, the ruler, maketh a speech of instruction to the people, exhorting them to imitate what was read"." And again, of the Eucharist: "Then," saith he, "bread and wine is offered to the ruler," τω προεστῶτι°. Was it the Bishop alone, or the presbyters alone, that preached and celebrated the Eucharist? Sure both did it; 78 and the name of προεστώς was chosen on purpose by Justin to comprise both.

Antistites.

§ 5. The same is to be observed in the words of St. Augustine P, Hom. ult. ex quinquaginta, cap. 11, Veniat [peccator] ad antistites, per quos illi in Ecclesia claves ministrantur, et a præpositis sacramentorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum." "Let the sinner come to the president by whom the keys are ministered to him in the Church and let him receive the measure of his satisfaction from those that are set over holy things." Antistites in Ecclesia is not the Bishop alone, but the Bishop and the presbyters. Hegesippus in Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. iii. 20, relateth how some of our Lord's kindred were brought afore Domitian upon suspicion of danger to the state, in regard of their title to the kingdom,

Episcopus presbyter sit, non tamen omnis presbyter Episcopus; hic enim Episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est.—Tom. ii. col. 295. ed. Ben.

μιμήσεως ποιείται.—Apol. i. cap. 67. p. 83. ed. Ben.

tentia, tom. v. col. 1359. ed. Ben.

Ambrosii de officiis Ministrorum. lib. i. xx. 87. tom. ii. coll. 24, 25.

Thorndike wrote "his second;" as

it was in the editions of his day. Είτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προεστώς διὰ λόγου την νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν της τῶν καλῶν τούτων

ο Kal ως προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ήμων τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, ib. referring to ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστώτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος. -cap. 65. p. 82. P. S. Augustini serm. 351. de Pœnî-

but dismissed by him upon notice of their profession of life in CHAP. tilling their grounds with their own hands, tried by the hardness of them which it had wrought. "These," saith Hegesippus, "were hereupon chosen ἡγήσασθαι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, 79 to be leaders of Churches, as both cousins of our Lord and His witnesses q;" comprehending both Bishop and presbyters in one title. As in Ignatius, ad Trall., οἱ ἡγούμενοι τῶν Ἐκκλησιών, "the rulers of Churches" is put in one word to express Bishops and presbyters both, as the circumstance of the place will evidence. To this we must add the words of Irenœus, iv. 43: "Wherefore," saith he, "it behoveth us to obey the elders that are in the Church, which have received, according to the Father's pleasure, the certain grace of truth, with the succession of their bishoprics." And again, iii. 2, he speaketh of the tradition "coming from the Apostles, which had been preserved in the Churches through the succession of presbyterst." Irenæus, that is wont to appeal to the succession of Bishops, to evidence that which the Church then believed to have come from the Apostles, here referreth himself to the presbyters for so the same purpose, affirming that they succeeded the Apostles; without doubt calling the Bishops by the name of "presbyters," in regard of the office common to both.

§ 6. Thus are both ranks comprised in one name of προεσ- [προεστῶτῶτες in the first canon of the Council at Antiochia", where we read, Εί δέ τις των προεστώτων της Έκκλησίας Έπίσκοπος, ή πρεσβύτερος, ή διάκονος "If any of the presidents of the Church, Bishop, presbyter, or deacon:" where we are not to conceive that deacons are reckoned among the προεστώτες, as hath been mistook; but the sense is to be directed by distinguishing the words thus: Εἴ τις τῶν προεστώτων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας (Ἐπίσκοπος ή πρεσβύτερος) ή διάκονος, reckoning the προεστώτες, as well presbyters as Bishops, neither more nor less

τους δε ἀπολυθέντας ἡγήσασθαι τῶν Εκκλησιών ως αν δή μάρτυρας δμοῦ καὶ από γένους δντας τοῦ Κυρίου.—Euseb.

ed. Ben.

από γένους οντάς του κυριου.—Ε.μικου.

Hist. Eccles, iii. 20. p. 90, ed. Vales.

* Ασπάζομαι ύμας από Σμύρνης, αμά ταις συμπαρούσαις μοι Έκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὧν οἱ ἡγούμενοἱ με κατὰ πῶν ἀνέ-

παυσαν, σαρκί τε και πνεύματι.—Epist. Interp. cap. xii. p. 71. ed. Coteler.

* Quapropter cis, qui in Ecclesia sunt, presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis,

sicut ostendimus; qui cum Episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris, acceperunt -S. Irenæi, lib. iv. cap. xxvi. 2. p. 262.

t Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ per successiones presbyterorum in Ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus cos.—Lib. iii. cap. ii. 2. p. 175. Concil. Antiochen. A.D. 341. Lab-

bei, tom. ii. col. 585. ed. Venet.

CHAP. than antistites in Latin, which we had in St. Augustine before.

And thus you have both ranks comprised in the same style, of præpositi in St. Cyprian, and of præsidentes in Tertullian.

The first, Epist. 62x, Et cum omnes omnino disciplinam tenere 81 oporteat, multo magis præpositos et diaconos curare hoc fas est.

"And seeing all utterly are to observe discipline, much more is it just that the presidents look to this." The other, De Cor. mil. c. iii. Eucharistiæ sacramentum nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. "We receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist from no other hands but of the presidents'."

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT PATTERN THIS GOVERNMENT MIGHT HAVE IN THE SYNAGOGUE.

AARON AND HIS SONS. CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SANHEDRIN WITH THE
BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS.

What pattern this government might have in the synagogue. Before we leave this point, it will not be amiss to take notice what pattern the Apostles might have for this form of government in the synagogue. For when our Lord in the Gospel, Matt. xviii. 17, giveth His disciples, in the case of private offences, the rule, Dic Ecclesiæ, it is to be supposed He reflecteth upon some bench to which that people were wont to resort with their causes—otherwise what could the hearers 82 understand by these words?—intimating that His will was, the Church, which He was now founding, to be provided of the like. Nevertheless, in regard this Church was intended a mere spiritual state, to be cherished and nourished in the bosom and entrails, as it were, of all commonwealths, there must no comparison be made in that which concerneth the temporal state of that people.

[Moses' charge.] § 2. Let us see, then, Moses' charge. Deut. xvii. 8, 9, thus we read: "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates; then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come unto the priests and Levites, and to the judges that shall be

^{*} Ep. iv. ad Pomponium. p. 8. ed. Oxon. 1682.

in those days, and enquire; and they shall shew thee the sen- CHAP. 83 tence of judgment." He that readeth here on the one side two sorts of persons-the "priests and Levites" for one, and "the judge that shall be in those days;" on the other side, two sorts of causes-one concerning ceremonies of the religion in force, the other the civil laws of that people, hath cause to think that the meaning of this law is, that they should resort to several persons, according to the differences of their causes: especially, being indifferent in the words, to translate it thus: "Thou shalt come to the priests, the Levites, or to the judge that shall be in those days," as after, verse 12, it is read. Had it been thus, the correspondence had been clear between the High-priest and his inferiors in the synagogue, and the Bishop and his presbyters in the Church.

§ 3. But the practice of the nation beareth it otherwise; in [The prac-84 which we must believe their doctors, when they tell us that the nation.] whole passage—as well that of "the priests and Levites," as that of "the judge that shall be in those days,"—is referred to the Sanhedrin, whereof R. Isaac Abarbanel giveth this reason in his commentaries upon that place: because that court for a great part consisted of priests and Levites, and therefore had the hearing of all sorts of causesy. And though they were brought hither from lower courts-whereof there was one of three and twenty persons in every place which contained one hundred and twenty families, one of three in less places-by the judges themselves, as the Hebrew doctors will have it, arguing from the words, "thou shalt arise"-"thou that findest a matter too hard for thee in judgment shalt arise;" yet can we compare the consistory of the Church with no court but this; first, because all mother-Churches in mother-85 cities are absolute in their rule, as to those Churches or congregations that depend upon them, as members on the whole. But as to the Churches of more eminent cities, they are allby the subordination wherein the unity of the Church con-

7 Hebræi hunc versum referunt ad concilium Sanhedrim quod erat summum, instar parliamenti, et judicabat de lege, rege et propheta, ad illudque erat ultima appellatio. Porro Sanhe-drim constabat 70 viris, qui tam ex Sacerdotībus quam ex primariis viris cujusque tribus assumebantur, quasi

illi hic intelligantur per τδ judicem, id est judices, ut vertit Chaldwus. q. d. Venies ad Sacerdotes et ad judices, id est, ad concilium Sanhedrim in quo sunt Sacerdotes, et judices Sæculares, quibus omnibus præest summus Por tifex.—Cornel. a Lapide in Deuter cap. xvii. 9.

CHAP. sisteth—to depend upon the same*. And again: because Jerusalem was the only seat of the whole state of religion and justice both, in that people, -sacrifices being done no where else,-and the chief causes in religion brought to no court but this.

Aaron and

§ 4. Well then, as Ignatius, in one of his epistlesa, distinguisheth two parts of the Bishop's office, τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ τὸ ίερατεύειν-"to rule the Church, and to perform divine service;" so must we enquire the correspondency of the Church with the synagogue in both respects; reflecting from the Bishop and presbyters, in regard of divine service to be performed by their hands, upon Aaron and his sons, or the 86 High-priest and the rest; as St. Hierome hath done before us, writing in these terms, Epist. ad Evangel.b: Quod Aaron, et filii ejus, atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, et presbyteri, et diaconi vendicent in Ecclesia. "What Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the temple, that let the Bishop, presbyter, and deacons challenge to themselves in the Church."

Correshedrin with the Bishop and pres-

§ 5. But in respect of government and discipline, -whereof pondence of the San. our Lord speaketh in the Gospel aforesaid—we must reflect upon the Sanhedrinc as the same St. Hierome hath done in another place, upon the first to Titusd, saying of Bishops in respect of their presbyters, Imitantes Moysen, qui, quum haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit, cum quibus populum judicaret. "Imitating Moses, who having in his power to be over the people of Israel alone, chose

> * "So far as the Scripture hath appointed it, otherwise than as the law of love tieth Christians to assist one another's necessities; our Lord and His Apostles having instituted no other judicatories in spiritual matters but one of these presbyteries in each Church, and many of them in several Churches, when the matter required common advice." This passage in the first edition was instead of that between the words "their rule," and "And again."

> * Ἐπίσκοπου δὲ, ὡς ἀρχιερέα, Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φοροῦντα κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν, Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἰερατεύειν, Χρίστοῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τιμῶν χρὰ καὶ βασιλέα.—Ερ. Interp. ad Smyrnæos, cap. ix. p. 91.

ed. Coteler.

** Epist, ad Evangelum. tom, iv. col.

803, ed. Ben.

Here Thorndike alludes to the question discussed in the Schoolswhether the Episcopate be a distinct order from the Priesthood. Viewed in relation to the celebration of the Eucharist they are one; for the Priest has power to consecrate as fully as the Bishop; but in relation to the discipline of the Church they are distinct orders: the Priest is subject to the Bishop. In the former case Aaron and his who were of but one order in the temple, are types; in the latter the authority of Moses shadowed forth the jurisdiction of the Episcopate over the whole body mystical of Christ.

d Comment. in Ep. ad Titum, cap. i. ver. 5. tom. iv. col. 414. ed, Ben.

seventy with whom he might judge the people." So then, CHAP. Moses' spirit is taken and divided upon seventy elders, to help him to bear the charge of the people, Num. xi. 25. The same thing is done when the Apostles ordain presbyteries by imposition of hands. Therefore we see the spirit of 87 prophecy rest upon the presbytery by which Timothy was ordained, as well as upon that of Antiochia, no otherwise than it did upon Moses' Sanhedrin, Num. xi. 26. To continue, and procure the continuance whereof upon their successors, it was, that this court sat in the temple; as the old Hebrew doctors observe, it is said, "thou shalt go up to the place which I shall choose;" signifying that the temple in which the Holy Ghost dwelt occasioned the influence of it upon the court that sat there. But when Moses was dead, a president was chosen, over and beside the seventy, whom they called the Nasi, to be in his stead from age to age, as R. Moses writeth in Hilcoth Sanhedrin, cap. i. Such is the Bishop, chief of the presbyters, after an Apostle. All the difference is this: the Sanhedrin is but one, as the nation to which God was known was but one; whereas the Apostle and his suc-88 cessors remaineth head of so many presbyteries as his office of preaching the Gospel to all nations adviseth him to institute, as hath been said.

CHAPTER IX.

PRESBYTERIES COMPOSED OF NO LAY PERSONS, AS THE SANHEDRIN. WHAT IS BROUGHT OUT OF THE SCRIPTURE TO THAT PURPOSE. THE LABOUR OF PRESBYTERS IN THE WORD AND DOCTRINE. PREACHING WENT BY GIFTS UNDER THE APOSTLES. THOSE GIFTS MAKE NO DIFFERENT MINISTRIES. TEACHING AND RULING BELONG TO THE SAME PRESBY-TERS. NO COLOUR FOR LAY ELDERS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. PREACHING, HOW RIGHTLY ESTEEMED.

It is well enough known how this comparison, and the Presbytetext that occasioneth it, is drawn into consequence, to prove posed of that presbyteries were intended to consist part of elders of the no lay per-89 people, part of ministers of the Churche; as the Sanhedrin Sanhe-

* This alludes to the commentaries of Calvin upon St. Matth. xviii. 16—18, whose device of lay elders is supported ores esset excommunication a p

CHAP, of some priests and Levites, some of the people. And it is as well to be known what a forced presumption it is to require correspondence between the Church and the synagogue in that point, which the difference of a mere spiritual and temporal commonwealth bringeth to pass. The Sanhedrin consisted of the chief of that people, as well as of priests and Levites; because the chief causes of that commonwealth, as well as of religion, passed through their hands. The Church is subject to all commonwealths, where it is maintained, in temporal mattersf; in those which concern the soul, whom shall we think our Lord leaveth her in charge with, but those whom He trusteth with the keys of His house? Who those are, we shall see anon. In the mean time, let this serve their turn that will needs presume that these presbyteries must con-90 sist part of lay persons^g, as the Sanhedrin, while we prove that, de facto, they did consist of none but ministers of the Church.

What is Scripture purpose.

§ 2. For upon this occasion, it will not be amiss here to brought out of the add the utmost of the rest whereupon that platform is grounded in Scripture; which is, in effect, no more than that text of the Apostle, 1 Tim. v. 17, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those that labour in the word and doctrine;" carrying, at the first sound, an appearance of two sorts of elders-some preachers, others nothing but rulersh. It is seconded indeed.

> qui totius Ecclesiæ personam gerebant, apposite Christus tune demum publice ad Ecclesiam traduci dicit, qui peccarunt Scimus ex quo reversi fue-runt ab exilio Babylonico Judæi, delecto concilio quod vocabant, Sinhedrin, Græci Synedrion, mandatam fuisse censuram morum et doctrinæ Quod autem sub lege servatum fuerat, Christus ad nos transmisit, quia nobis communis est ratio cum antiquis Patribus. Neque enim consilium Christi fuit, suos discipulos ad Synagogam ablegare Sed admonuit in Ecclesia suâ tenendum esse ordinem qui pridem sub Lege sancte institutus fuerat.

> f Respublica non est in Ecclesia, est Ecclesiam non facere bella, non leges figere, non populos sub legibus coercere, non res civiles exercere, et similia: Ecclesiam autem esse in Republica, Christianos sub legibus Imperatorum vivere protegi, quietam vitam sub eis et ex

eorum protectione, ducere et similia.

—Nota Albaspinæi in S. Optati de Schism. Donatist. l. iii. p. 56, Antverp. 1702.

8 Atqui legitimam Ecclesiæ gubernationem presbyteris injunctam fuisse constat, non tantum verbi ministris sed qui ex plebe morum censores illis adjuncti erant,—Calvin, ibid.

h Qui Ecclesiæ regimini secundum Christi institutionem præsunt, saith Calvin, nominantur a Paulo primum Apostoli deinde Prophetæ, tertio Evangelistæ, quarto Pastores, postremo Doc-tores. Ex quibus duo tantum ultimi ordinarium in Ecclesia munus habent, alios tres initio regni sui Dominus ex-citavit, et suscitat etiam interdum, prout temporum necessitas postulat. He then proceeds to give his notions of the duties of Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists, concluding thus: Se-quentur Pastores ac Doctores quibus

by those passages of the Apostles wherein they reckon the CHAP. graces, for the edification of the Church distributed upon the members of it, upon the ascension of Christ, Ephes. iv. 11, "some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and doctors;" or else, both for edification and for other 91 necessities, Rom. xii. 6, "prophesying, ministering, teaching, exhorting, communicating, ruling;" and, 1 Cor. xii. 28, "Apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts of healing, helps in government', tongues;" and afore, ver. 8, those gifts which are called "the manifestation of the Spirit, given to every man to profit withal," because of their use to the edification of the Church of that time, are reckoned as followeth: "the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, tongues, interpretation of tongues;" and, 1 Pet. iv. 11, "speaking, and ministering." But that which is gathered hence is but in consequence to the two sorts of elders, supposed out of the text aforesaid. For out of these passages are culled the gifts of "ruling," or "helps in government," and "ministering,"-the offices of "pastors," of "doctors" or "teachers;" upon presump-92 tion of the difference aforesaid, to argue that the ministries appointed to continue in the Church till our Lord's coming to judgment are that of pastors, to preach in the Church; that of "rulers," or "helps in the government"-elders of the people-to assist in ruling; and, last of all, "doctors" or

carere numquam potest Ecclesia, inter quos hoc discriminis esse puto, quod Doctores nec Disciplinæ nec Sacramentorum administrationi, nec monitionibus, aut exhortationibus præsunt, sed Scripturæ tantum interpretationem, ut sincera sanaque doctrina inter fideles retineatur. Pastorale autem munus hæc omnia in se continet.—Institut. lib. iv. cap. iii. 4. Again, Colligere autem hine licet, duo fuisse tune presbyterorum genera; quia non omnes ad docendum ordinabantur. Nam aperte verba sonant, quosdam bene et honeste præfuisse, quibus tamen non erant commissæ docendi partes. Et sane ex populo deligebantur graves et probati homines, qui una cum pastoribus com-muni consilio et authoritate Ecclesiæ disciplinam administrarent, ac essent quasi censores moribus corrigendis. Hunc morem Ambrosius obsolevisse

conqueritur doctorum ignavia, vel potius superbia, dum soli volunt eminere. —Comm. in 1 Ep. ad Tim. v. 17. He alludes to the Commentaries upon 1 Tim. v. 1, attributed to St. Ambrose, the true meaning of which Thorndike explains, in chap. ix. sect. 9. onte upon the same place is to the same effect; and Smectymnuus following their masters, write thus: "We will (to avoid prolixity) not urge those three known texts of Scripture (I Tim. v. 17; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Rom. xii. 8) pro-duced by some for the establishing of governing elders in the Church, not yet vindicated by the adversaries, nor

will we urge that famous text of Ambrose in I Tim. v."—Sect. xv. p. 62.

The author's reading is that of the version then in use. See Discourse of Religious Assemblies, ch. iv.

CHAP. "teachers," to read lessons in point of religion, not meddling with governmentk; besides deacons, to whom the gift of ministering belongeth.

The laword and

§ 3. Here, it is plain, there is work cut out; and sure it presbyters is a fit place to take into consideration the first part of that office we pretend to prove common to Bishop and presbyters, doctrine. consisting in labour "in the word and doctrine," as it was in the primitive time, and is understood by the Apostle; which, withal, will make appear upon what sort of persons the rule of the Church was estated. Without doubt, when we have named the preservation of the true faith, by preventing the 93 creeping in of heresies and errors—the instruction of those that are converted in the mysteries of the faith-diligence in propagating it, by converting more and more,-we have named a very great work of labour in the word and doctrine, and yet specified nothing but that which is contained in the presbyter's office from the beginning. For when the Apostle, Acts xx. 29, foretelleth to the presbyters of Ephesus "the coming in of grievous wolves, that should not spare the flock," and "the rising up of perverse teachers," it is to the purpose to put them in mind, ver. 31, "to be watchful" of these things, as of their own charge; vouching withal his own example, ver. 20, "in preaching and teaching them, both in public and house by house, admonishing them with tears, every man in particular," as it followeth, ver. 31, for them in their place and rank to follow. And the rule of the 94 Apostle, Gal. vi. 6, "Let him that is catechized communicate to him that catechizeth in all good things," without doubt aimeth at this private way of instruction whereof we speak. Be the same said of the other Apostle's instructions to his elders, 1 Pet. v. 2, "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre"-because it is said, "the elders that rule well are counted worthy of double honour," that is, reward-"but of a ready mind, neither as being lords of God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock." And

Doctorem, quem a pastore distinguit quod hic præsit Ecclesiæ, ille minime: Defensio Tractationis de divers. Minist. Evangel. Grad, ab Hadriano Saravia, p. 131. Lond. 1610.

k Dominus Calvinus (ni fallor) fuit primus qui ex hoc loco [1 Tim. v. 17] seniores deduxit, qui non docerent sed tantum censuræ morum præessent. D. Beza tertiam speciem addit, Scilicet

again: the office of watching over the flock, by which the CHAP. leaders of the Church are characterized, Heb. xiii. 7; the parts of a Bishop in the instructions of Timothy and Titus that concern teaching and instructing in the faith, as by the 95 meaning of the words they may consist, so for my part they are undoubtedly taken to consist most an end, for the time of the Apostles, in that private diligence, those abilities, that watchfulness, that presbyters were to use in guiding and instructing particular persons of Christians; which in consequence must be understood of that "labour in the word and doctrine" specified in the leading text, 1 Tim. v. 17.

§ 4. And the reason shall be, because then, to the best of Preachmy judgment—which if it prove otherwise, then shall the by gifts spirits of the prophets be subject to the prophets—the work under the Apostles. of preaching in the assemblies of Christians at that time-so far as we understand by the Apostle-went more by men's gifts than by their places in the Church. Read the fourteenth chapter of the first to the Corinthians throughout, and consider what great use there was of the gifts of prophesying and 96 speaking strange languages in their assemblies, which the Apostle there regulateth; sure you will never imagine-for there is not a syllable to intimate it-that these were all presbyters, ordinary ministers in the Church. The like must be said of the gifts reckoned, ch. xii. 8, "the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, discerning spirits," and the like; of the gifts of "teaching" and "exhorting," Rom. xii. 7, 8; of "pastors" and "doctors" mentioned by the Apostle, Eph. iv. 11. The office of the presbyters at Thessalonica, the Apostle recommendeth to the brethren there in these terms, 1 Thes. v. 12: "We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love, for their work's sake." But we are not bound to think them all the same persons, whose graces he recommendeth when he 97 addeth, ver. 19, 20, "Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesying." Acts xiii. 1, there were in the Church of Antiochia "prophets" and "teachers;" and of them they were that gave Paul and Barnabas "imposition of hands." And, 1 Tim. iv. 14, these are those that "prophesied" of him; and presbyters they were, I suppose, that gave him

CHAP. "imposition of hands" with the Apostle. And so it was argued from hence afore, that the spirit of prophecy rested upon those presbyteries. But that all such prophets were presbyters, or all presbyters such prophets, neither is it written in God's book, nor of itself credible, in such variety of graces specified; which all being given for edification, and used in the assemblies to that purpose, must either rest in the rank of ordinary ministers, or be counted personal and miraculous graces¹, used for the edification of the Church, in supplement of their endeavours which have served the turn in after-ages. 98

[Shewn from the records of the Church.]

§ 5. He that wrote the commentaries upon St. Paul's epistles, under St. Ambrose's m name, upon Ephes. iv. 11, 12, having laboured to accommodate the gifts there specified to the ministries then in use in the Church, is at length driven to this point: Tamen postquam in omnibus locis Ecclesiæ sunt constitutæ, et officia ordinata, aliter composita res est quam cæperat. Primum enim omnes docebant, et omnes baptizabant, quibuscunque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio. "Notwithstanding after Churches were settled in all places, and offices ordained, the business was ordered otherwise than at the beginning. For at the first all taught, and all baptized, on what days or time soever there was occasion." And after a while: Ut ergo cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare, et baptizare, et Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare. "Therefore that the people might increase and multiply, at first it was granted to all to publish the Gospel, to baptize, and to expound the Scriptures in the Church." That which he saith of all persons publishing the Gospel, is justified by that which we read Acts viii. 4: "Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went every where preaching the word." And again, Acts xi. 19: "Now 99 they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phœnice, and Cyprus, and Antiochia, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only." That which he saith of expounding the Scriptures, that is, "speaking in the Church," will be justified no less, if it be referred to that variety of gifts specified out of

^{1 &}quot;Personal and miraculous graces:" the first edition reads thus, "or be counted personal graces, whether mira-

culous or otherwise, used for" &c.

^m S. Ambros. Opp. tom. ii. col. 241.
ed. Ben.

the Apostle, most an end miraculous, and concerning that CHAP. time, the use whereof was for edification in the assemblies. -And the reason that is to be given for this must needs appear very considerable; because that among men chosen out of those that were newly converted to the faith in their elder years, for which they are called "presbyters," and that in respect of other kind of abilities, tending to other parts of their office, there should be found men fit to speak in public 100 assemblies upon human parts and endeavours, so as to preserve the decorum and reverence of so great a work, is beyond the compass of common discretion to imaginen; these qualities being not often found but in those that are habituated to them from their youth. Do but look on those of our Lord's kindred that confessed Him before Domitian, and therefore were made leaders of Churches, as was related before from Hegesippuso, and think whether men, whose hands were hardened with the plough, already struck in years, were fit to make preachers when they were made rulers of Churches: so far is it from us to think, that in the cradle of the Church no presbyter was made but for his abilities in preaching.

§ 6. Let us now look back a little upon the platform pretended, and ask what commission men have to turn temporary endowments into perpetual places? or according 101 to personal gifts and graces to distinguish occumenical offices?

—And yet it will not appear that ever pastors were distinguished from doctors by the Apostle; for he never said, that Christ hath given "some pastors, some doctors;" but his words

n Quibus ergo docendi munus injunctum erat, eos omnes nominabant presbyteros, Habebant ergo singulæ civitates Presbyterorum Collegium, qui Pastores erant ac Doctores. Nam et apud populum munus docendi, exhortandi et corrigendi, quod Paulus Episcopis injungit, omnes obibant tam Episcopum quam Presbyteros verbi et Sacramentorum dispensationi incumbere oportuit valuit ergo diu illud in Ecclesia ut prima Episcopi partes essent, populum verbo Dei pascere, seu ædificare Ecclesiam publice ac privatim sanā doctrinā. — Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. cap. iv. 2, 3. He uses the words Episcopus and Presbyter for the same order.

" Chap. vii. sect. 5.

" "For to be able to teach, and not to be a novice, are placed before as the

essential points required in every lawful pastor and doctor of the Church, whereby he differeth from the rest of the Church, which in every member of it ought to have the other qualities there required of a Bishop. And therefore we never read in Scripture of any to whom the administration of Sacraments was committed, which were not trusted with the preaching of the word."—Cartwright's Annotations on 1 Tim. v. 17. p. 573. Again, "The want of sufficient ministers ought to be no cause for men to break the unchangeable laws of God, which be that none may be made minister of the Church, which cannot teach; that none minister the Sacraments which do not preach."—Cartwright's Reply to Whitgift, p. 104. sect. 3.

CHAP. are, Ephes. iv. 11, that He gave "some pastors and doctors," 1X. having said afore, that "He gave some Apostles, some evangelists, some prophets," distinguishing these, but comprising those q.-If teaching and preaching must make two offices, as then they were two graces, why shall not exhorting come in for a share, and demand that there may be an office instituted for the purpose of it, as well as for teaching, which it standeth in equipage with Rom. xii. 7, 8? Why should not the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge do the like? for these, mentioned 1 Cor. xii. 8, are of perpetual use, although prophecies and strange languages were but for the time. 102 There is one good reason to be given and no more: because perpetual ministries are one thing, temporary gifts are another thing. Those we know, by the institution of them in Scripture,-by the office of them specified in the Acts and in the epistles,-by the practice of them in all ages of the Church; these we know were in the time of the Apostle, but not instituted for ministries, because not continued.

§ 7. The office of presbyters, we know, was both for and ruling belong to government and teaching: both are found in St. Peter's the same presbyters exhortation to the presbyters of his charge, 1 Pet. v. 2, "feeding" the flock, and "overseeing" it; both in St. Paul's charge to the presbyters of Ephesus, Acts xx. 28, and afterwards; both in the qualities of Bishops-that is, as is acknowledged, of presbyters-wherein Timothy is instructed by the Apostle, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 5; both contained in that very passage that is alleged to bring in a difference of presbyters, 103 1 Tim. v. 17; for those elders that "rule well," are such as "labour in the word and doctrine." Why might not the Apostle then difference presbyters by the execution of their functions, as well as by the functions themselves? Why might not some presbyters shew more diligence in the most eminent point of the office-taking special pains in the word and doctrine, which special pains the word κοπιώντες signifieth-and yet others be counted worthy of double honour, and good rulers, as well in respect of their diligence in the

ait; alios autem pastores et alios magistros, sed alios pastores et magistros, ut qui pastor est, esse debeat et magister. S. Hieronymi Comm. lib. ii. in Ep. ad Ephes. iv. 11. tom. iv. col. 365. ed. Ben.

q Nec vero putandum, quod sicut in superioribus tribus, alios dixit esse Apostolos, alios Prophetas, alios Evangelistas: ita et in pastoribus et magistris officia diversa posuerit. Non enim

prime point as of their performance in the rest? The per- CHAP. sonal gifts of the Holy Ghost were then distributed on several persons, as the Apostle sheweth, that all might be useful, and such endowments, in the time of spiritual graces, might be 104 employed to the edification of assemblies, as well as the gifts of ruling, to assist the presbyters in their office of government. But he that would take order now, that who could pretend a gift in ruling should be helpers in government, or in the word of wisdom and knowledge should stand up to edify assemblies, might soon find more help in government, more words of wisdom and knowledge, and in time more prophesying, than himself would desire. Well may we turn the world into confusion, if we think to do what then was done; but shall never find any ministries of place and succession in the Church but presbyters and deacons-for of the coming-in of Bishops hath been said-to the parts of whose office, consisting in ruling, teaching, and ministering, all those other gifts of the Holy Ghost are to be referred as assistant at that time; and from 105 whose office, and the ordinary blessing of God upon it, the effect of them all is to be expected at this time.

§ 8. For let me ask, what is become of those "doctors," No colour distinguished from "pastors," in all succeeding ages? Where elders in have those "ruling elders" hid themselves, that they were mitive never seen since the time of the Apostles? Is it possible that Church. the whole Church should conspire to suppress such an institution of our Lord and His Apostles, almost as soon as it was made? Or is it imaginable, had it not been suppressed, that all ecclesiastical writers, whereof there is such store, should conspire so far to suppress the remembrance of it, that among them all there is not one witness produced to depose for them, unless it be by those that bring the meaning with them which they desire to find in their writingsr? Were we alive in

" If then these elders were the governors of the ancient Church,-as Cartwright and his fellows boldly avouch, against all record of storyhow chance their names are not recorded? why is not their succession noted? why do we find no mention of any action done by them? why is the memory of so famous elders trodden under foot and abolished? why should the proceedings of the elders of late Churches be more famous now than in times past? Wherefore, either let us have some record of their names, lives and doings shewed, or else let the disciplinarians acknowledge that elders, though they have their name of age, are but new-born infants, and have no succession from the ancient fathers of the Church."-Sutcliffe, Treatise of Eccles. Discipl. ch. iv. sect. 3. p. 127. London, 1590.

CHAP. Tertullian's time, we might go into the assemblies of Christians, and see with our eyes what now will not be believed, 106 though it be told us in terms plain enough to them that will understand, when he saith as afore, Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti". We might see them sitting in the head-room of the congregation by themselves apart from the people: whereupon they are called by him otherwhiles ordo and consessust. And were there occasion to see any of them censured to the loss of his office, we might see him for his punishment sit and communicate in the rank of the people.

[Nor in the later Church. 1

§ 9. It hath not been my lot yet to meet with any thing in ecclesiastical writers, or out of them, to bear an appearance of this difference, but only those words of the commentaries under St. Ambrose's" name upon 1 Tim. v. 1: Unde et Synagoga, et postea Ecclesia, seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia. He speaketh in the time 107 past, of that which had been in the Church, and was not; and without doubt giveth men of excellent abilities, men of incomparable merit in the Church, occasion to mistake his meaning, as if he had spoke of a sort of presbyters which had been in the Church, and now were notx: whereas they should have taken the whole clause with them, when he saith, Unde et postea Ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia; and then his meaning had been plain, as in truth it is, that the Church once had presbyters that joined advice with the Bishop in all Church matters; which my desire is to prove was so from the beginning, and which he complaineth was now otherwise. For so St. Hierome, about the same time, manifestly declareth that he thought an alteration in this point was come to pass, when he saith, that at the first Churches were governed by common 108

swer to the Admonition," p. 162, who says, "Both the names and offices of Seniors was (were) extinguished before Ambrose's time, as he himself doth testify, writing upon the first of the fifth to Timothy." And in "The Defense of the Answer to the Admonition," Tract 17, ch. 1. div. 2. p. 628. Also Hadrian Saravia "de diversis gradibus ministrorum Evangelii," c. xii. p. 13, and Justellus, in his notes upon the African Canons, p. 438, can. 100, ed. Paris 1661.

Apologet. cap. xxxix. p. 68. ed.

am.—See chap. vi. sect. 4.

Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit Ecclesiæ auctoritas, et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus a Deo. Ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis est consessus, et offert et tinguit sacer-dos qui est ibi solus.—Exhortat. ad Castit. cap. 7. p. 941. ed. Pam.

S. Ambros. Opp. tom. ii. col. 298.

Archbishop Whitgift in "The An-

advice, but afterwards all was referred to one, hereupon ex- CHAP. horting Bishops to communicate the government of their -Churches with their presbyters, as Moses did his with the Sanhedrin of Israely. And this further appeareth by that which followeth in the said commentaries: Quod qua negligentia obsoleverit nescio, nisi forte doctorum desidia, aut magis superbia, dum soli volunt aliquid videri, "Which by what negligence it came out of use I know not; unless by the sloth, or rather pride, of some doctors, desiring that nobody seem any thing beside themselves,"-imputing the change to the negligence of "teachers," or to their pride. And therefore they are "teachers," that were called "elders" afore; and through their negligence, or the Bishops taking all on themselves, all came into their hands; which perhaps may be referred to that which by and by shall be said, that the Bishops afterwards in some parts took the office of preaching 109 in the mother-church where they lived, in a sort to their peculiar, not suffering the presbyters to preach in their presence 2.

§ 10. Which office of preaching, nevertheless, as the matter Preachis now, being become the necessary charge of Bishop and ing how presbyters-temporary graces being ceased and dioceses esteemed. divided, churches built and means assigned-as it is without doubt, and always was accounted, in regard of personal performance, the most excellent work they are able to contribute to the service of God, so is it, for the use of edification, as much to be preferred before other their employment, as prophesying is by the Apostle preferred before speaking with strange languages: always provided-since we must not now presume upon immediate inspirationsa, but expect God's

ad Titum, cap. i. 5. tom. iv. coll. 413,

" Then, as God gave utterance, they preached the word only, now they read homilies, articles, injunctions, &c."— Admonition to the Parliament, quoted

⁷ Communi presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiæ gubernabantur paulatim vero ut dissentionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem solicitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex Ecclesiæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit, esse sub-jectos: ita Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere Ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen, qui quum haberet in potestate solus præesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit cum quibus populum judicaret.—S. Hieronym. in Epistol.

^{414.} ed. Bened.

The rule of the Eastern Church seems to have been in this respect different from that which prevailed in the Western. In the former, presby-ters preached frequently; in the latter, St. Augustine was the first. Thomassinus, however, considers there was no such rule, or at least, that it was not

CHAP, ordinary blessing upon human endeavours-that men and abilities may be stored for the work before the work be cut 110 out for them, so as the honour and reverence thereof may be preserved without offence. For as the Apostle saith b, that if unbelievers should come into the assemblies of Christians, and hear them nothing but speak languages which most understood not, they would say they were mad; so, if the enemies of our profession should hear in our churches a great deal of tongue, but the meaning of the Scripture not in it, needs must this bring an evil opinion upon it.

CHAPTER X.

OFFICES OF DIVINE SERVICE PERFORMED IN CHIEF BY THE BISHOP : AFTER HIM, BY THE PRESBYTERS. ORDER OF CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLIES APPOINTED BY BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS. MAINTENANCE OF THE CHURCH AND POOR DISPOSED OF LIKEWISE.

Offices of divine by the Bishop.

Well, then, this particular of labour in the word and doctrine is out of doubt common to Bishop and presbyters both. performed It is that which St. Peter most aimeth at, when he exhorteth those whom he calleth his "fellow-elders" to the office of feeding the flock; it is that which St. Paul for the most part expresseth, when he exhorteth the presbyters of Ephesus to "take heed to the flock, which they were to feed," Acts xx. 28, according to his example that "ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears," ver. 31; "teaching them 112 both in public, and from house to house," as it is afore, ver. 20. And we shall find this office of teaching and instructing the Church to rest afterwards upon the Bishop in chief, and upon the presbyters in consequence, whether in private-upon particular occasions, whereof we find much argument of practice in St. Cyprian's epistles - or in public, in the assemblies of Christians. For thus the matter went afterwards, the principal parts and offices of divine service—that is, the sermon, and the celebration of the Eucharist-were wont to be reserved to the Bishop, in honour of his place and the eminence of it, unless he were absent, or it were disposed of

in Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition, p. 93. London, 1573.

b 1 Cor. xiv. 23. c See Epp, viii. xiii. xv.

Which I take to be the reason why Justin CHAP. Martyr, in the place alleged afored, related that the sermon was wont to be made, and the Eucharist celebrated, by the 113 προεστώς, which name compriseth Bishop and presbyters both, as hath been said; because the office belonged to the Bishop in the first place, to the presbyters in case of his absence, or the like.

§ 2. And you shall hear even now Ignatius'e argument to persuade the Ephesians not to assemble for the Eucharist but with the Bishop; "For," saith he, "if the prayers of one or two have that force that Christ is in the midst of them, much more the prayers of the Bishop and Church:" therefore it was the Bishop whose prayers the Eucharist was celebrated with. And in the life of St. Augustine is related, that it was not the custom for presbyters to preach in the Churches of Africa-that is, not if the Bishop were present-whereupon the Bishop Valerius, being a Greek, and not so fit to speak to the people in Latin, brought that into use there which he had seen practised in the East, and assumed St. Augustine to 114 assist him, by preaching in his presence.

§ 3. The commentary under St. Ambrose's name, so often alleged, having said, upon Ephes. iv. 11, as we had it aforeg, that at the first all sorts preached in the church, but afterwards it was otherwise settled, prosecuteth it with these words: Unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant. "Wherefore now neither do deacons preach to the people." And of baptizing, Tertullian lib. de Baptismo, cap. xvii. Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus.

* Chap. vn. sect. 4.

* El γαρ ένδε και δευτέρου προσευχή τοσαύτην Ισχύν, έχει &στε τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν αὐτοῖε ἐστάναι πόσφ μᾶλλον ήτε τοῦ 'Επισκόπου και πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσευχή, &c.—Ερ. Interp. ad Ephes. cap. v. p. 47. ed. Coteler.

† Sanctus vero Valerius ordinator ejus.... Deo gratias agebat suas exauditas a Domino fuisse preces quas se frequentissime fudisse parrabat, ut sibi

frequentissime fudisse narrabat, ut sibi divinitus homo concederetur talis qui posset verbo Dei et doctrina Salubri Ecclesiam Domini ædificare: cui rei se homo naturâ Græcus, minusque Latina lingua et litteris instructus, minus utilem pervidebat. Et eidem pres-

bytero potestatem, dedit coram se in Ecclesia Evangelium prædicandi, ac frequentissime tractandi, contra usum quidem et consuetudinem Africanarum Ecclesiarum, unde etiam ei nonnulli Episcopi detrahebant. venerabilis ac providus in Orientalibus Ecclesiis id ex more fieri sciens et certus, et utilitati Ecclesiae. Consulens, obtrectantium non curabat linguas dummodo factitaretur a presbytero, quod a se Episcopo impleri minime posse cer-nebat.—Possidius in vita S. Augus-tini cap. v. col. 260. Append. tom. x. ed. Ben.

g In chap. ix. sect. 5.

d Chap. vii. sect. 4.

CHAP. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesiæ honorem. Quo salvo, salva pax est. "The chief priest truly, that is, the Bishop, hath power to give it, then the presbyters and deacons, but not without the authority of the Bishop, for the honour of the Church, which when it is safe, then is peace safe." To shew us, that all services of the Church, even to baptize, belonged in chief to the Bishop, in respect to his place; that, for the same reason, the presbyters were silent in his presence, and the deacons not suffered at all to preach at that time.

Order of Christian assemblies appointed by Bishop and presbyters.

- § 4. Now, as the office common to Bishop and presbyters was and is seen in the services of the Church, so was it also 115 seen in appointing the assemblies of the Church for that purpose. This we have here to observe, out of Ignatius' epistles -in consequence to that which was produced afore out of St. Paul and Clemens, concerning the disorders of the assemblies at Corinth - that to correct them, and to prevent the like, the order of the people's oblations,-of the presbyters celebrating the Eucharist,-of the assemblies of the Church for that purpose,-was regulated by the appointment of the Bishop and presbyters. His words are these, Epist. ad Smyrn. : Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου οὕτε βαπτίζεν, ούτε προσφέρειν, ούτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, ούτε δοχήν έπιτελείν, -that "without the Bishop neither might any man baptize," nor the people "bring their offerings," nor presbyters "consecrate the Eucharist," nor both "celebrate the feasts of love" used at these assemblies.
- § 5. And for the purpose of this particular it is that he is 116 so earnest and frequent, throughout his epistles, in exhorting to be subject to the Bishop and presbyters, Epist. ad Trall. 'ε' Ο ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὧν, καθαρός ἐστι διὸ καὶ ὑπακούει τῷ Ἐπισκόπω καὶ τῶς πρεσβυτέροις. ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς ὧν, οὖτός ἐστιν ὁ χωρὶς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσων,—" he that is within the altar," saith he, "is pure; wherefore he obeyeth the Bishop and presbyters: but he that is without is he that doth any thing without the Bishop and presbyters [and deacons]." He that is "without the altar"—

h Ch. iii. sect. 3, and ch. v. sect. 5.

Ep. Interp. cap. vii. p. 66. ed.
Coteler.

Coteler.

in Ignatius' terms, "that doth things without the Bishop and CHAP. presbyters"-is meant of those of the people that assembled, or those of the presbyters that celebrated the Eucharist without the Bishop and presbyters, or their appointment; which was called "erecting altar against altar" in the primitive time: for so Ignatius again, in the epistle to the Ephesians ": "Let no man mistake," saith he; "if a man be not within the altar. 117 he cometh short of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two be of such force that Christ standeth in the midst of them, how much more shall the prayer wherein the Bishop and Church agreeth"-that is, at the Eucharist, which he spoke of when he mentioned "the bread of God" afore-"prevail?" And therefore, in the end of that epistle" imaκούοντες τῷ Ἐπισκόπφ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίφ, ἀπερισπάστφ διανοία, ενα άρτον κλώντες, ο έστι φάρμακον άθανασίας,-"obeying the Bishop and presbyters without distraction of mind, breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality." A plain case. The intent of his exhortations is to persuade them to assemble without schism; because that to assemble and celebrate the Eucharist besides the Bishop's appointment was then the due mark of a schismatic. And that the presbyters concurred with him in ordering these matters, appeareth by the obedience he requireth to both. 118 And so still in Ignatius the presbyters are assistant to the Bishop in all things. And this is the meaning of that sixth canon of the council at Gangra, whereof the tenour is, "if

any man assemble in private beside the Church, and will perform ecclesiastical offices in contempt of the Church, no presbyter being there with assent of the Bishop, let him be

contra altare, ut unitatem Christi discordiis furialibus dissipantes.—Ejusdem Ep. 43. tom. ii. col. 90. Episcopum contra Episcopum ordinaverunt altare contra altare erexerunt.—Ep. 76. col. 180. See also Psalm. contra partem Donati. and S. Optatus de Schism. Donatist. lib. i. c. 19. ed Dupin. Antwerp 1702.

^m Μηδεὶς πλανάσθω, ἐὰν μή τις ἐντὸς ἢ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Εἰ γὰρ ἐνος, and as in note e.—Ερ. Interp. cap. v. p. 47. ed.

¹ Si quis presbyter contemnens Episcopum suum, seorsum collegerit, et altare aliud erexerit.—Can. Apost. 32. Contemtis Episcopis, et Dei sacerdotibus derelictis constituere audet aliud altare.—S. Cyprian de Unitate Ecclesiæ, p. 116. ed. Oxon. Aliud altare constitui aut sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare, et unum sacerdotium non potest.—S. Cyprian. Ep. 43. Universæ plebi, p. 83. Sed etiam majorem Donatum a casis nigris, qui altare contra altare in eadem civitate primus erexit.—S. Augustini contr. Crescon. Donatist. lib. ii. cap. 1. tom. ix. col. 410. ed. Ben. Erigentes altare

n Cap. xx. p. 54. ed. Coteler.

CHAP. anathema°;" providing herein against schism, as the occasion

N. of that council evidenceth^p. Wherewith agreeth the thirtysecond^q canon of the Apostles.

Maintenance of the Church and poor disposed of likewise.

§ 6. And in the seventh and eighth canon next following of the same council^r, there is provision against bringing or receiving oblations otherwise than to the Church, beside the Bishop's mind, or his that is trusted for these things, for the benefit of the poor, under pain of anathema; the heaviness of the sentence proceeding upon the mark of schism which the action forbidden importeth, though there is in it a respect 119 to the maintenance of the Church and poor, arising for that time out of the oblations of Christian people; the dispensing whereof was then another particular of the office common to Bishop and presbyters. For as we read, Acts xi. 30, that the benevolence of the brethren of Antiochia was directed to the elders at Jerusalem "by the hands of Barnabas and Saul," though the seven deacons were made afore to attend upon the poor; so are we not to think that their office went so high as to dispose of their maintenance, but to execute the disposition of Bishop and presbyters. For when the Church of Antiochia maintained three thousand poor, as is read in a passage of St. Chrysostom*, the Church of Rome one thousand and five hundred in Cornelius' time, as is to be seen in his words related by Eusebius, Eccles. Hist, vi. 43t, it is not 120 reason to imagine that all this means was put in the power of the deacons; whose office St. Hierom" well expresseth,

[°] Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἰδία ἐκκλησιάζοι, καὶ καταφρονῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐθέλοι πράττειν, μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.—Concil. Gangrens. circ. A. D. 324. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 429. ed. Venet.

[°] Εusebius of Sebaste in Armenia

P Eusebius of Sebaste in Armenia was condemned in this council, who to his other errors added this, that he despised the assemblies of the Church, and held private ones of his own.

4 Si quis presbyter contemnens Episcopum suum scorsum collegerit, et altare aliud erexerit et cæteri clerici quicunque tali consentiunt deponantur. In the Greek text this canon is the XXXth.

Ε΄ τις καρποφορίας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐθέλοι λαμβάνειν ἡ διδόναι ἐξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου,

ή τοῦ ἐγκεχειρισμένου τὰ τοιαῦτα Ε΄ τις διδοῖ ἡ λαμβάνοι καρποφορίαν παρεκτὸς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἡ τοῦ ἐπισταγμένου εἰς οἰκονομίαν εὐποῖας, καὶ ὁ διδούς, καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.—Cann. vii, viii, Concil. Gangrens. ut supra.

"Εννόησον δσαις ἐπαρκεῖ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν χήραις, ὅσαις παρθένοις (καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὸν τῶν τρισχιλίων ἀριθμῶν ὁ κατάλογος αὐτῶν ἔφθασε.)— Ηοπ. Ιχνί. in St. Matt. tom. ii. p. 422. ed. Sav.
' Χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας' οὕς πάντας ἡ τοῦ

Χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ὅπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας οὕς πάντας ἡ τοῦ Δεσπότου χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφει.—p. 244. ed. Vales.

α Nam quum Apostolus perspicue

a Nam quum Apostolus perspicue doceat cosdem esse presbyteros quos Episcopos, quis patiatur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra cos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur?

when he calleth them mensarum et viduarum ministros, as CHAP. those that "ministered," not "disposed," of their maintenance. -Though perhaps the advantage of fingering money was it that made them take so much upon them in his time, whereof he complaineth. Nay, it is plain this must rest in the power of Bishop and presbyters by the portions and divisions thereof, wherein each of them had interest, as his maintenance; whereof we find remembrance in St. Cyprian's epistles*. In the last canon of the council of Antiochiay is provided, that the Bishop shall not alienate the Church-goods-which, though immovable, were given for the same purpose-without consent of his presbyters. And in those which are called 121 the canons of the Apostles-which the world knoweth are not theirs, but yet do express very ancient customs of the Church-canons iii. and iv. having ordered what sorts of first-fruits should be sent to the Church,-what home to the Bishop and presbyters, it followeth, "now it is manifest that -they are to be divided by them among the deacons and clergy":" to the deacons, for the maintenance of the poor; to the clergy, for their own. Where you see the interest of the presbyters in disposing of such oblations.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DISCIPLINE OF PENANCE. THOSE THAT HAVE THE REYS REMIT SINS BY PRESCRIBING PENANCE. THE INTERCESSION OF THE CHURCH. PARTICULAR PERSONS EXCOMMUNICATED AMONG THE JEWS. OUR LORD PROHIBITETH THEIR COURSE AMONG HIS DISCIPLES. TWO DEGREES OF EXCOMMUNICATION, AS WELL IN THE CHURCH AS IN THE SYNAGOGUE. THE KEYS ARE GIVEN TO BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS. THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE, AND WHAT IS REQUIRED AT THE HANDS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

THERE remaineth now two particulars of the office common of the disto Bishop and presbyters, wherein the people also claim their cipline of penance.

122

⁻Ep. ad Evang, tom. iv. col. 802. ed.

^{*} See ep. v. and vii. ed. Oxon. 1682. γ.... εί δὲ μη τούτοις ἀρκοῦτο, μεταβάλλοι δε τὰ πράγματα εἰς αὐτοῦ χρείας, καὶ τοὺς πόρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἡ τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν καρποὺς, μη μετὰ γνώμης τῶν πρεσβυτερῶν, ἡ τῶν διακόνων, χειρίζοι τοῦτον εὐθύνας παρέχειν τῆ συ-

νόδφ της επαρχίας.—Conc. Antioc. A.D. 341. can. 25. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 595, ed. Venet.

Reliqua poma omnia ad domum primitiæ Episcopo et presbyteris dirigantur, non offerantur in altari. Certum est autem, quod Episcopus et presbyteri dividant et diaconis et reliquis clericis.—Can. v. Labbei, tom. i. col. 47.

CHAP, interest;—the one is, the discipline of penance,—the other, the making of ministers. The due course whereof, assigned by our Lord and His Apostles, will best be discovered, 123 laying together, first, what we find of them in Scripture, and then comparing of it with the proceeding of the primitive time, which we shall perceive the right to go along with. The keys of the kingdom of heaven are given by our Lord to the first of His disciples, in these words, Matt. xvi. 19: "And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." If men's minds were not possessed with prejudice, it would soon appear to be the same power that is given to all the Apostles, John xx. 23: "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." But Matt. xviii. 17, 18 to the same purpose, though more at large: "And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to 124 hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican. Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." To this must be added the proceeding of the Apostle, in delivering to Satan the incestuous person at Corinth, 1 Corinthians v. 3, 4, 5, which he also did to Hymenæus and Alexander, 1 Timothy

Those that ing pen-ance.

§ 2. Now in the practice of the primitive Church, those that keys remit exercised this power were in part judges—censors you may call them, if you please-and in part physicians: both parts comprised in St. Cyprian's words, Epist. li.a, Ubi lapsis, nec censura deest, quæ increpet; nec medicina, quæ sanet. "Where the lapsed want neither censure to reprove, nor medicine to Judges they are, in shutting God's house upon offenders, and binding their sins upon their consciences; and the effect of this censure such-supposing the proceeding of 125 it to be due-that as the disease of sin is not to be cured without the medicine of repentance, no more can this knot wherewith sins, notorious of themselves, or otherwise known, are tied to men's consciences, be undone, without known

* Ep. 54. p. 100. ed. Oxon. 1682.

repentance. For since the worst of the soul's sickness con- CHAP. sisteth in not acknowledging her disease, it pleased God to give His Church power and charge to constrain offenders to take their physic, which the grief of bodily diseases is able to do alone. Physicians they are, then b, in prescribing the medicine of repentance; and in that respect alone are truly said to remit sins. God Himself saith not to the soul, "I absolve thee from thine offences," but upon supposition of the means-His own gift of repentance-that worketh the cure; 126 so far it is from the power of His creature to pronounce forgiveness without knowledge of the effect which the medicine of repentance hath wrought. But if we say true, when a physician is said to cure a man's disease, though all the world know he doth no more than prescribe the medicine, or at the most see it applied, with as good right is it to be said that men's sins are cured by them that prescribe the course by which they are cured. Only, whereas he that is cured of a bodily disease is able to tell himself when he is well, he that is once sensible of the maladies of his soul is not easily satisfied when the cure is done. It hath therefore pleased the goodness of God to provide an office and charge in His Church, to assure men of forgiveness of sins upon due knowledge of repentance, by taking away that knot wherewith they remained tied upon their consciences. Firmilianus, 127 Bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia, in his epistle to St. Cyprian, the seventy-fifth in number of his epistles, thus writeth: Lapsis quoque fratribus, et post lavacrum salutare a diabolo vulneratis, per pænitentiam medela quæratur. Non quasi a nobis remissionem peccatorum consequantur, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam delictorum suorum convertantur, et Domino plenius satisfacere cogantur. "And a cure may be sought for the brethren that are fallen, by penance. Not as though they get remission of sins from us, but that by us they may be converted to the knowledge of their sin, and constrained more fully to satisfy the Lord." And this [is] another difference between physicians and the power of the Church, that physi-

gloss upon which is, Est enim censura medicinalis, non mortalis; disciplinans non eradicans. See also the Decretum of Burchard, Bishop of Worms, lib. xix. cap. 29.

b So the constitution of Othobon, Tit. 28. de publica Absolutione: Sicut Ecclesiasticæ censuræ vinculum ad medelam inventum est, ut sanum efficiat languidum quem coercet... The

CHAP, cians cannot constrain any man to take their medicines. The Church may and must put him from the Church that refuseth the medicine of penance. To this purpose was the time, and order, and fashion of penance regulated in the ancient Church, that the diseases of the soul might receive every one their competent cure; and therefore it is plain, that among them it was a favour to be admitted to penance, in opposition to Novatianus, qui nemini pænitentiam dandam putavit, "who thought that penance was to be granted to nobody," saith St. Ambrosec, De Panit. lib. i. cap. 2; "exhorting men to repentance indeed, but leaving them for pardon to God, Who had power to give it," as his disciple Socrates writeth, Eccles. Hist, iv. 28d; that is, not employing the power of the keys, 128 and the benefit of it, to the cure of their offences. Whereupon St. Ambrose, you see, calleth it dare pænitentiam; as on the offender's side it was then called petere pænitentiame, demanding and granting of penance.

The intercession of the Church.

§ 3. For this cause it was, that this medicine of repentance was wont to be joined with the prayers of the congregation, but in the chief place, of the Bishop and presbyters; which, if repentance be physic, is correspondent to that which is given to make physic work; and this is called in Tertullian', presbyteris advolvi, et caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere; "to fall down to the presbyters, to kneel to those that are dear to God, to charge all the brethren with embassies of intercession for them;" and in St. Augustine's, gemitus columbæ, the "mourning of the turtle," procuring their release at God's hands. And to this purpose was the imposition of hands so often repeated in penance, because, as St. Augustine saith of it, in confirmation wherein he followeth Tertullian; the one in these words, 129

e S. Ambros. de Pœnitentia, lib. i. c. 3. 10. tom, ii. col. 393, ed. Ben.

^d Τοῖς πανταχοῦ ἐκκλησίαις ἔγρυφε, μὴ δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιτεθυκότας εἰς τὰ μυστήρια άλλά προτρέπειν μέν αύτους εὶς μετανοίαν, την δὲ συγχώρησιν ἐπι-τρέπειν Θεῷ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ ἐξουσίαν έχοντι συγχωρείν άμαρτήματα.—p. 245.

^{*} Nam plerique futuri supplicii metu peccatorum suorum conscii, pœnitentiam petunt, et cum acceperint publicæ supplicationis revocantur pudore. Hi

videntur malorum petiisse pœnitentiam, agere bonorum.—De Pœnitentia, lib. ii. cap. ix. 86. col. 434. ed. Ben.

f De Pœnitentia, cap. ix. p. 169. ed.

Pam. Rothomag. 1662,

Tamen si corrigantur et se pessimos ad baptismum accessisse fateautur non rebaptizantur sed incipiunt ad columbam pertinere, per cujus gemitus peccata solvuntur a cujus pace alienatis tenebantur.-De Baptism. contra Donatistas, lib. iii. cap. xviii. tom. ix. col. 118.

Quid enim est impositio manuum, nisi oratio super hominem^h? CHAP.

"For what is imposition of hands but prayer over somebody?"

the other afore him in these, Dehinc manus imponitur per benedictionem ad vocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum¹; "Then is the hand imposed, calling and inviting by benediction the Holy Ghost;"—that it is but a ceremony of benediction, imploring the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, which it representeth.—So was it in penance nothing else but a form of benediction, interceding for their reconcilement.

§ 4. This may very well be thought to be the intent of the words of our Lord in the Gospel alleged, Matt. xviii. 19. For, having delivered to the Church the power of binding and loosing, in the words recited, it followeth straight: "Again, I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven: for where 130 two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." For as, in the words next going afore, He sheweth how men's sins are bound and loosed-to wit, by the power which He giveth His Church to that purpose,-so He may well seem, in the next words, to point at the course by which this power may become effectual to the loosing of sins, to wit, the intercession of the congregation of God's peoplek. At least, thus much hath been observed by men of excellent learning, that lamenting is a work

h Manus autem impositio, non sicut baptismus, repeti non potest. Quid est enim aliud, nisi oratio super hominem? —S. August. de Baptism. contr. Donatist. lib. iii. cap. xvi. tom. ix. col. 117.

tist. lib. iii. cap. xvi. tom. ix. col. 117.

Tertullian. de Baptism. cap. viii,
p. 389. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

J Quibus verbis vult Augustinus (those just quoted) manús impositionem esse cæremoniam externam, qua is, qui eå utitur, significat, se orare, benedicere, bene precari, vel apud Deum intercedere pro eo cui manum vel manus imponit. Est igitur oratio, non vocalis, sed, ut ita dicam cæremonialis, cum vocali tamen, vel saltem mentali oratione, seu benedictione conjuncta.—Catalan. in Rit. Rom. p. 230. tom. i. Patavii 1760.

k See the whole passage in St. Augustine, part of which is quoted in note g. In the form of reconciling penitents

on Maundy Thursday, according to the use of Sarum, the intercession of the Church is spoken of thus: the archideacon presenting the penitents to the Bishop, says adsunt filli tui, Pater, quos Deo per Spiritum Sanctum vera mater Ecclesia cum lætitia peperit, sed iterum suadente Diabolo a sua integritate corruptos, autem miscros factos, exules, novis quotidie doloribus ingeniscit. Pro his quoque supplicite orant, quicunque felices in sinu suo remanserunt, quique divina protegente se clementia stabiles fide perstiterunt Plorat cum istis, immo pro istis plorare et exorare non desistit sancta mater Ecclesia, et lachrymæ ejus in maxillis, quia venit tempus miscrendi ejus. Moveat pietatem tuam, Pater, vox fidelis et flebilis, moveat gemitus et habitus ipse miserorum.

CHAP. specified by the Apostle himself, in the business of reducing offenders by penance, 1 Cor. v. 2: "Ye have not lamented to put away such a transgression from you;" and again, 2 Cor. xii. 20, "I fear that when I come unto you, I shall not find you such as I desire and shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness, that they have committed;" meaning that he should put them to penance by 131 consequence. This maketh the interest of the congregation in the work of discipline to be considerable, but entitleth it not to the keys of God's house1.

among the

§ 5. For to conceive our Lord's meaning aright, let us take persons excommu. notice that there was among the Jews much use of excommunicating by particular persons—as is to be seen in their writings: Maimoni, in Talmud Torah, c. vii.; Arba Turim, or Shulchan Aruch, in Jore Deah, Hilcoth Niddui Ucheremand that many times upon causes of their particular interest. For example, a rabbi, or rabbi's mate, was able to excommunicate for his credit, when he found himself slighted. True it is, they count it commendable in a rabbi to pass over all disrespect to himself in private; but he that shall do it in public, they bind him to remember it, and watch his party like a serpent, till he seek favour and reconcilement, Maimoni, 132 n. ult. And true it is, that in some cases they void excommunication that is grounded upon particular interest, and not for the honour of God, Jore Deah, out of the Jerusalem Talmud, and R. Joseph Karo upon it, f. 364 m. And gene-

> ¹ This is the principle of the Brownists or Independents; Luther taught it before in divers of his writings, but, perhaps, without seeing the consequences of his own theory. Nos autem omnes, of his own theory. Nos autem omnes, saith he, qui Christiani sumus, habemus commune hoc officium clavium, id quod libellis contra Papam totus probavi et monstravi. Stat enim verbum Christi Matth. xviii, non Apostolis tantum, sed omnibus prorsus fratribus Christus hic dat jus et usum clavium cuilibet Christiano, dum dicit sit tibi sicut Ethnicus quid enim est dicere, Sit tibi sicut Ethnicus, nisi tantum noli ei conversari, communionem illi neges. At hoc est vere ercommunicare et ligare ac claudere cœlum Claves sunt totius Ecclesiæ, et cujuslibet membri

ejus tam jure quam usu et omnibus modis.

—De instituendis ministris Ecclesiæ, fol. 367. Luther, Op. tom. ii. Wite-

bergæ, 1551.
"That the power of excommunication is in the body of the Church, whereof the parties that are to be cast out are members because excommunication is the sentence and judgment of Christ by His Church concerning such as are within, 1 Cor. v. 4. 12. . . . because the power of excommunication is in them, upon whom it lieth to put out the wicked from among themselves, and so to purge out the old leaven."—An Apology or Defence of such True Christians as are commonly but unjustly called Brownists, p. 62. 1604.

^m See the fourth book of Morinus,

rally, he that excommunicateth without cause is to be excom- CHAP. municated himself-it is the last of twenty-four causes for XI. which they excommunicaten; -but what disorders might come upon such practice is easy to imagine.

§ 6. And, therefore, there is great cause to think that our Our Lord Lord's words, whereof we speak, are aimed on purpose to eth their abrogate this course among His followers, though covertly course among to avoid offence. For two things He prescribeth in opposi-His disclarations. tion to it: first, to aim at a brother's reformation and nothing else in all the proceeding, Matt. xviii. 15, "If thy brother 133 shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between

thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother." The second is, that they shall proceed no further than contestation in private. The rest He prescribeth to be referred, in public, to the Church. So it followeth, "But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear

them, tell it unto the Church."

§ 7. Now this word Ἐκκλησία, "the Church," as also Συναγωγή, is first used in the Greek of the Old Testament, to signify the congregation of the people of Israel. The Jews that have lived since the prophets have espoused and appropriated this latter word, the "synagogue," to signify sometimes the whole body of that nation, or rather of that faith-as among the Fathers "the synagogue" standeth for the Jews, in 34 opposition to the Church of Christianso-sometimes particular congregations of it, and, by consequence, the place of their assemblies, as in the Gospel P, "He loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue." And just so, in all respects, is the word Ecclesia, "the Church," used in relation to Christians; our Lord, in the Gospel, having begun to appropriate it to the congregation which He now began to institute, Matt. xvi. 18, "Upon this rock will I build my Church;"

chapters xxiii.-xxviii, de Administratione Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ Commenrius. Bruxellis, 1685.

n Vid. Morin. de Administrat, Sacra-

goga dici solet quamvis et Ecclesia dicta sit. Nostram vero Apostoli nunquam Synagogam dixerunt, sed semper Ecclesiam.—S. Augustin. in Psalm. 81. col. 870. tom. iv. ed. Ben.

P St. Luke vii. 5.

ment. Pœnitent. lib. iv. cap. 27. § 2.

o In synagoga populum Israel acci-

pimus, quia et ipsorum proprie Syna-

CHAP, and in the text in hand, Matt. xviii. 17, "tell it to the Church." So that it must not be denied it is not usual for "the Church," which signifieth the whole congregation of people, to signify the chief part of it.

Two degrees of nication as well Church

§ 8. But it is as certain, on the other side, that looking backward to the synagogue, upon which our Lord reflecteth, as was said, such censures as these are whereof our Lord speaketh, proceeding from the public-private ones being excluded, as hath been said—issued all from the courts of 134 justice mentioned afore, without respect to the congregation of the people. As thus: there were among them two degrees of excommunication, and no more; the less called 470, that is, "separation;" the greater pro, or "anathema;" and the effect of them, to cut a man off, more or less, from the congregation of the people;—as is to be seen in the late most learned work, De Jure Naturali et Gentium, juxta disciplinam Ebræorum, iv. 99.—The ordinary sentence of separation, which is that we spoke of afore, was for thirty days, unless the court thought fit to abridge or enlarge the term. For that time, no man must come within four cubits of him that stood excommunicate, besides those of his house;—he must not be reckoned among three, which is the number required at blessing of meat;—he must not be reckoned among ten, which is the number required to make a synagogue; under 13 that, they go not to prayers in the synagogue. And how it is in the power of the court to aggravate this, is to be seen in Shulchan Aruch, as aforer, Num. x. At thirty days' end they iterated the sentence, and stayed thirty days more; if then he stood out, it was in their power to excommunicate him with curses, which is that which is called "anathema." With these the proceedings of the Christian Church keep some correspondence, according to Scripture. For when our Lord saith, "If he hear not the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican," He intimateth withal a course the Church had to take for his correction and amendment that should give ear to it: which, though it

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scems to have confounded.—Selden, vol. i. col. 484. London, 1726. Morinus, lib. iv. cap. xxiii. 7. p. 226.

' Chap. xi. sect. 5.

⁹ Selden, in the place mentioned in the text, allows of only two degrees of excommunication, but Morinus allows of three, distinguishing Niddui from Schamata, which, he says, Maimonides

might perhaps end in a verbal admonition of the Church, CHAP.

137 and real amendment of the party, yet, those that were under

the discipline of penance, we know, were in a sort excommunicate, because they were not admitted to the communion of the Eucharist; besides that—as those which were separated among the Jews—they put upon them the state, and fashion, and habit of mourners. And I shewed afore what we find in Scripture to argue this course directed by our Lord,

and practised by the Apostle.

§ 9. But here was a difference, that in that state we find not that a man was cut off from the conversation of Christians; those which were admitted to penance being always accounted in the way of salvation, supposing the performance of their enjoined penance. That was the effect of that grievous censure whereof our Lord speaketh, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican." Not because He meaneth to forbid Christians to converse with heathen 138 men and publicans, who, being to be converted from among them, must needs be compassed with them on every side; and therefore that case the Apostle hath resolved, 1 Cor. v. 9, 10, where he informeth them that, whereas he had "written to them not to converse with fornicators," his meaning was, not to forbid them to converse with "the fornicators of this world"-that is, Gentiles-or with "the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then must ye go out of the world;" and as it followeth, ver. 12, "for what have I to do to judge those that are without? do not ye judge those that are within?" But our Lord's meaning is, that Christians should shew that respect to a brother that should be refractory to the Church, as the Jews did then to Gentiles and publicans; which the Apostle secondeth there, ver. 11, "Now I write to you not to converse, if any man that is called a 139 brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one no not to eat;" which is to avoid them, as the Jews did Gentiles and publicanst. And the sentence whereupon this is to be practised is intimated in the next verse: "For what have I

In the beginning of this chapter. first edition "him that stood separate."
"Gentiles and publicans," in the

CHAP. to do to judge those that are without? do not ye judge those - that are within?"

> § 10. And this censure it seemeth the Apostle presupposeth, when he writeth to Titus, iii. 10, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject." For his meaning is, not to instruct Titus alone what he in his person should do, but in the person of Titus to instruct all the Church to reject and avoid refractory heretics; and therefore, in the consequence of avoiding them, it seemeth he intimateth the censure whereupon they are to be avoided. The same censure against the incestuous person at Corinth he intimateth by the same consequence, when he saith, 1 140 Cor. v. 13, "Therefore put away from you that wicked person;" which he calleth "giving over to Satan" in the same case, ver. 5, afore, and in the case of Hymenæus and Alexander, 1 Tim. i. 20; and which he signifieth, 1 Cor. xvi. 22, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus, let him be anathema, maranatha;" where "anathema" is the term that cometh from the synagogue; and so doth the other, as some men think. So that this censure cutteth men off from the conversation of Christians, which forfeit the privileges to which they pretend, and so delivers them to Satan by consequence; as those that lodged without the camp of Israel were in danger to be licked up by the Amalekite". Which course, nevertheless, as it was preservative in regard of sound members, that they might not be tainted, as the Apostle signifieth when he saith, 1 Cor. v. 6, "Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the 141 whole lump?" so was it medicinal in respect of the sick, shame and grief being a good way to the cure; which the Apostle seemeth to respect when he directeth, 1 Cor. v. 6, "to deliver him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be safe in the day of the Lord Jesus;" and, 1 Tim. i. 20, "whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme."

The keys and pres-

§ 11. This is the correspondence between the proceeding are given to Bishops of the Church and synagogue. And therefore, as looking

thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary.' - Deut. xxv. 17, 18.

[&]quot; Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when ye were come forth out of Egypt. How he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of

backward to the synagogue-whereupon our Lord reflecteth CHAP. when He saith, Dic Ecclesia-we see to whom they had recourse; so shall we see, looking forwards upon the Churchwhich our Lord pointeth towards in the same words-to whom He directeth His followers to have recourse. The keys of God's house are given in the Gospel to St. Peter, 142 with the effect of "binding and loosing;" and the same power to all the Apostles, in equivalent terms of "retaining" and "remitting" sins; for if there were advantage, it were an inconvenience that, in the third place, the power of "binding" and "loosing" should be given to the Church, which is pretended [to be] given to St. Peter for a privilege beyond the Apostles. Well then might St. Cyprian argue, Epist. xxvii. x, that because our Lord promised to St. Peter the keys of His Church, therefore the acts of government of it were to pass through the Bishop's hands, and without him apostates could not be reconciled. And it is the same which St. Augustine affirmeth so oft as he teacheth-which many times he doththat St. Peter in receiving the keys represented the Church; asy, Si hoc ergo in Ecclesia fit-he speaketh of binding and loosing-Petrus, quando claves accepit, Ecclesiam sanctam significavit. "If this be done in the Church, then Peter, when he received the keys, represented the Church." For what 143 was promised to St. Peter was given the rest of the Apostles, but was to rest in the Church, to which it is also given in the same terms*; as St. Cyprian is willing to acknowledge, so oft as he calleth the presbyters his colleagues, and professeth to do nothing without their advice. So that it is not possible to give a more impartial meaning to the words of our Lord in the Gospel, than the practice of those times hath expressed, when that power was exercised in common by the Bishop and his presbyters.

§ 12. This it is Tertullian hath shewed us, Apolog. cap.

claves. Transivit quidem etiam in alios Apostolos jus potestatis istius, et ad omnes Ecclesiæ principes decreti hujus constitutio commeavit: sed non frustra uni commendatur, quod omnibus intimetur. Petro enim ideo hoc singulariter creditur, quia cunctis Ecelesiæ rectoribus Petri forma præpo-nitur.—S. Leonis Magni Serm, iv. p. 18. tom. i, Venet. 1753.

^{*} Dominus noster . . . dicit Petro, tibi dabo claves . . . inde . . . et Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem Præpositos gubernetur.—Ep. 32. p. 66. ed. Oxon.

⁷ Exposit. in Evangel. S. Johann. cap. xii. 12. Tractat. 50. tom. iii. p. 2. col. 633. ed. Ben.

Dicitur beatissimo Petro, Tibi dabo THORNDIKE.

CHAP. xxxix., alleged afore, where, having commended the gravity and integrity of ecclesiastical censures, to shew by whom they were done, he addeth as afore, Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti. And St. Augustine's words are plain, which we had aforeb, Veniat [peccator] ad antistites, per quos illi in Ecclesia claves minis-144 trantur, et a præpositis sacramentorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum. And in St. Cyprian there is so much mention of reconcilement by imposition of hands of the Bishop and clergy^c, that I will say no more of it, because this point, of all the rest, hath continued a chief employment of presbyters in the corrupt and pernicious opinions and customs of the Church of Romed.

The interest of the people.

§ 13. Let not any man think now that the Apostle communicateth this power with the congregation of the Church of Corinth, when he writeth to them, 1 Cor. v. 4, 5, "being assembled with his spirit, to deliver the incestuous person to Satan." For it is plain that the sentence is given by the Apostle, ver. 3, where he writeth, "For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed." And to cause this proceeding to be the better digested, he 145 hath vouched his power in the end of the chapter afore, ver. 18: "Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come unto you; but I will come unto you shortly, if the Lord will, and will know not the speech of them that are puffed up, but

substance—the prayers that are used, but accessories of the means of regaining the state of grace by penance."-

a Ch. vii. sect. 4.
b Ch. vii. sect. 5.
c See Ep. xvi. (ed. Pam. x.) p. 37,
Ep. xvii. (ed. Pam. xii.) p. 39.
d "The bringing in of a definitive

sentence of absolution, instead of the prayers of the Church, which a man was admitted to by undertaking pen-ance—the communion of the Eucharist being his actual and final reconcilement—argues as much change in the inward Christianity, as in the outward form of the Church. But if the prayers of the Church, joined with the penance of the penitent, be a competent means to regain the state of grace, a prayer immediately upon confession, immediately before absolution, is not. How much less since the council of Trent, which makes the definitive sentence, the

Epilogue, bk. iii. c. ix.

"Seeing every particular congrega-tion of Christ hath the power of our Lord Jesus Christ against all sin and transgression, to censure the sin, and to excommunicate the obstinate offen--A plain refutation of Mr. Giffard's book intituled A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England, p. 80. A.D. 1591. "That the power of excommunication is in the body of the Church, whereof the parties that are to be cast out are members."—An Apology or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists, p. 62. A.D. 1604.

the power. What will you? shall I come unto you with a CHAP. rod, or with the spirit of meekness?" Which power otherwhiles he setteth before them, in case of their disobedience.

§ 14. And therefore it must be acknowledged that he writeth to them to see his sentence published, ratified, and executed, which the presbyters there had either neglected to do, as was touched aforef, or perhaps were not able to bring the people under the discipline of Christ's kingdom; which must needs oblige the Apostle to interpose. And therefore the Italian gloss of Diodatig, which maketh the Apostle in this place speak of assembling the pastors and 146 guides of the Church, as in Matth. xviii. 17, though in effect true-because, for certain, what is to be acted by the congregation, therein the presbyters are to do their part, by the meaning of the Apostle-yet must leave us room to think that the words are to be understood of the public assemblies of the Church there for divine service, seeing we find in Tertullian, the place afore quotedh, that these censures were exercised at and in the assemblies of the Christian people: Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina, saith he, speaking of their assemblies. And St. Cypriani, in the great case of those that fell away in persecution, writeth to the presbyters, that he doth not think to do any thing in it without their counsel, and the consent of the people.

§ 15. And this, without doubt, is the reason why the Apostle writeth in these terms, 1 Cor. v. 12: "For what 147 have I to do to judge those that are without? do not ye judge those that are within?" speaking to the Church in general—though the sentence passed, as hath been said, by Bishop and presbyters—because matters were censured in the congregation, and executed by the people. And thus the practice of that time giveth a reason, without straining, why our Lord seemeth to refer these matters to the congregation, when He saith "tell it to the Church;" because they passed at their assemblies, though under censure of Bishop and presbyters. And great reason there is why this regard should be had by the Apostle, and by the Church afterwards,

In chap. iii. sect. 4.

Parla alla raunanza de' pastori e

De la Chiesa,

Apolog. c. xxxix. p. 68. ed. Pam.

Ep. 14. p. 33, quoted in ch. vii. sect. 2.

CHAP. to the people; because the Church, being a mere spiritual commonwealth, and not endued with temporal strength, so much as to execute those sentences which the power of the keys, given by Christ, obligeth it to inflict—always setting aside that power of working miracles which was in the 148 Apostle, upon which some think he reflecteth in some passages of those epistles-requisite it was, then, the congregation should be satisfied of the course of those proceedings, which must come into execution and effect by their voluntary submission to the will of God, and the office of His ministers.

And what is required at the hands of the wealth.

§ 16. And as the matter is now, that things of this nature proceed not upon men's private consciences and judgments in particulars, but upon general rules of common right, requisite it is that the commonwealth have satisfaction of those laws according to which the Church now must proceed in their censures; it being acknowledged that they cannot proceed with effect but by virtue of those laws that are put in force by the secular arm. But as it is now no longer time to leave matters to the conscience of men's places, which may 149 be regulated by laws which experience maketh commendable, so is it no longer time to expect at the people's hands voluntary submission to the discipline of the Church, further than it is enabled by laws of the kingdom to exercise it. And therefore it is much to be wished that the laws by which the ministers of the Church are enabled, directed, constrained to exercise this prime part of their office, may prove so sufficient, and that the power of the keys given it by our Lord in the Gospel may be so strengthened by the secular arm, and rules put in force by it, that it may be able to reduce all heinous and notorious offences under the discipline of penance, and to cut them off from the Church that refuse it. Is it to be believed that our Lord's intent was, in settling such a power as this is, that it should take hold of sins of incontinence, or the like, letting all others, of as deep a stain, and as 150 well known, escape uncensured? Or could any man devise a more puissant means to discountenance malefactors in a Christian commonwealth than that which our Lord hath appointed, by making them know that, when they have satisfied the laws of the kingdom with loss of goods or fame, or have escaped with life by the gentleness of them, the fact being

proved, nevertheless they cannot communicate with the people CHAP. of God till the Church be satisfied of their correction and amendment? Nay, shall we imagine that the institution of our Lord Christ is satisfied and in force in a Christian commonwealth, so long as the case of particular offences, upon occasion whereof it is settled by Him in the Gospel, is scarce understood among us, because it is so far from common 151 practice by the laws of the kingdom¹? whereas it might easily appear what an excellent and charitable course our Saviour hath chalked out to us, if a good Christian heart, being desirous rather of his brother's amendment than of his own satisfaction, and able to make an appearance of such an offence, as our Lord intended, by witnesses,-the Church, enabled by rules of law established by the secular arm, should call the person offending to the acknowledgment of wrong on his side, cutting him off in case he refused amendment. Thus much for certain: if the zeal of well-affected Christians towards the state of this Church did not mistake the true mark, the discipline of penance must needs be thought one of the first points to be reformed in it. And then the rest of that satisfaction, which the people can demand of the 152 Church, will consist in not releasing the correction inflicted until there be reasonable appearance of the effect wrought by it. For if, in St. Cyprian's discipline, the people rested so unsatisfied of some whom his gentleness had reconciled, that they were hardly persuaded to admit them to communicate, as he writeth, Epist. lv. k,-just cause have good Christians to be scandalized when they see them admitted to communicate of whose offences they are sure, but have no cause to be sure of their amendment1.

J "If, after a person is excommunicated, there comes a general act of pardon, which pardons all contempts, &c., it seems that this offence is taken away without any formal absolution."-Bacon's Abridgment of the Laws, Tit.

k Vix plebi persuadeo, immo extorqueo ut tales patiantur admitti.—Ep. ad Cornelium 59, p. 187. ed. Oxon.

See the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth chapters of Thorndike's Discourse of the Forbearance or Penalties which a due Reformation requires.

CHAPTER XII.

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OF ORDINATIONS WHAT IS REMEMBERED IN SCRIPTURE. THE COURSE HELD IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. THE ELECTION AND CONSTITUTION OF BISHOPS UPON WHAT GROUNDS. PRESBYTERS HAD THEIR PART IN ORDINATIONS: XEIPOTONIA WAS NOT ELECTION BY HOLDING UP HANDS. ORDINATION OF DEACONS FOR COMMON BUSINESS OF CHURCHES. THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE IS SATISFIED IN THE COURSE NOW PRACTISED. WHAT THE PRIMITIVE FORM REQUIRETH IN THE CONSTITUTION OF BISHOPS.

CHAP. XII. Of ordinations, what is remembered in Scripture.

As for the constituting and ordaining of ministers, which is behind of my promise, these are the particulars remembered concerning it in Scripture, for the most part touched upon occasion heretofore: Acts xiii. 3, "And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them 154 away." Acts xiv. 23, Paul and Barnabas, "when they had ordained them elders in every Church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed;" and 1 Tim. iv. 14, "Neglect not the gift that was given thee by prophecy, with the imposition of hands of the presbytery;" which is 2 Tim: i. 6, "by imposition of my hands;" and the charge of the Apostle unto him 1 Tim. v. 22, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins;" and the whole instructions of the Apostle to Timothy and Titus, by whom he had appointed them to be ordained. To which must be added the choice of Matthias, and the seven deacons, where is said, "that they"—the congregation-"put up two," Acts i. 23; "and the twelve said unto them, Acts vi. 3, Look ye out among you seven men of honest report;" and ver. 5, "and they chose Stephen," and the rest; and ver. 6, "they set them before the Apostles; 155 and when they had prayed, they laid hands on them." Which are alleged by St. Cyprian m for the interest of the people in this business.

§ 2. Wherein we shall discern the course of proceeding in the

m Nec hoc in Episcoporum tantum et Sacerdotum, sed in diaconorum ordinationibus observasse Apostolos animadvertimus, de quo et ipso in Actis eorum scriptum est, "et convocaverunt," &c. Quod utique idcirco tam diligenter et caute convocată plebe totă gerebatur, ne quis ad Altaris ministerium vel ad sacerdotalem locum indignus obreperet.—Ep. lxvii. ad clerum et plebes in Hispania, p. 172. ed. Oxon.

primitive Church, by that which is read in a heathen" who CHAP. being an enemy to all, cannot be thought partial to any rank of Christians. It is in the life of Alexander Severus; where held in the you have related how that excellent young prince, being to primitive Church. promote to the government of provinces, or the like charges, was wont to set up the persons' names, inviting the people to come in against any of them, upon any crime whereof they could make evidence, upon pain of life if any failed in it, And then it follows, Dicebatque grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent, in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi 156 sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita. "And, he said it was a heavy case, when Christians and Jews did it in publishing those that were to be ordained priests, that it should not be done in the governors of provinces, to whom both the fortunes and persons of men were committed." These words, in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, the learned Casaubono understandeth to be meant of that publication of men's merits and qualities which must needs fall out in discussing the competence of persons put up to the approbation of the people, to be ordained in any rank of ministers, at the assemblies of Christians, according to the custom then in practice. Which custom St. Cyprian commendeth upon the pattern of Eleazar, made and invested High-priest by Moses in sight of the people; whose interest he specifieth when he saith : Ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente, vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur; et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata. "That ordinations of priests be made under the privity of the people standing by, that either the crimes of the bad, or the merits of the good, may be published in presence of the people; and so a just and lawful ordination be made, being allowed by the suffrage and judgment of all."

§ 3. But before men's deserts and qualities could be scanned, [Nomi-157 it behoved that their persons should be nominated in the first of the place, the publication whereof is called in the sixth canon persons.]

[&]quot; Ælius Lampridius apud Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores vi. tom. i. p. 997. Lugdun, Batav. 1671.

o in loc. citat.

P Ep. lxvii. p. 172. ed. Oxon.

CHAP, of the Chalcedon councila emuchouses: where is provided, _ XII. Μηδένα δὲ ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε όλως τινα των εν τω εκκλησιαστικώ τώγματη, εί μη ιδικώς εν εκκλησία πόλεως η κώμης, η μαρτυρίω η μοναστηρίφ, ὁ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικηρύττοιτο,—" that no man be ordained presbyter, or deacon, or in any rank of the Church at large, unless he be published to be ordained in some particular church of a city or village." That which is called here επικήρυξις, prædicatio in Latin, meaning the publication of persons' names that were put up to be ordained, seems to come nearer that which the historian meancth when he saith in prædicandis sacerdotibus, because hercupon followed the examination of their competence which St. Cyprian declareth to be the interest of the people. For if we conceive that all 158 men indifferently had the right to nominate, we must think a great deal of unsufferable confusion must needs follow at such assemblies. And the same St. Cyprian, when he writeth to his clergy, Ep. xxiv., concerning the ordination of Saturus and Optatus, in these words, quos jampridem communi consilio clero proximos feceramus, "whom long since by common consent we had made next to the clergy," excusing himself to them that he had ordained them alone, upon this, that they had before promoted them to be next the clergy by common advice,-sufficiently sheweth that the course was to advise with the presbyters and rest of the clergy about the persons to be propounded to the people. We need then no more to shew us the course of that time.

[Order of pro-ceeding.

§ 4. There was first nomination of the person to the people; upon their knowledge and approbation of the persons, and agreement, there followed imposition of hands, wherein con-159 sisted the accomplishment of the work, from whence the whole was called in Greek χειροτονία, as ordinatio in Latin comprise th the whole work whereby they are promoted. In the ordination of Bishops there must needs be something particular. By the precedent which St. Hierome hath recorded us in the Church of Alexandria—where he said afore, that the presbyters were wont to choose a Bishop out of their own rank—it is plain their stroke was the greatest in nominating the person,

q Concil. Chalchedonens. A. D. 451, ed. Venet. can. vi. Labbei, tom. iv. col. 1684. F. Ep. xxix. p. 55. ed. Oxon.

to be approved by the people, and ordained by the Bishops. CHAP. And the commentaries, under St. Ambrose's name, upon Ephes. iv. 11, tell us, that at the first the next of the presbyters in rank was wont to be assumed-and so might it well be practised in some places-until it was tried that divers times they fell out to be unfit for the place. Then, saith he, 160 immutata est ratio prospiciente Concilio, ut non ordo sed meritum crearet Episcopum, multorum sacerdotum judicio constitutum, [ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum,]-" the course was changed upon advice, which provided that a Bishop should not be made by rank, but by merit, to be esteemed by the judgment multorum sacerdotums," signifying by this term as well the presbyters of the onet Church by whom he was desired, as the Bishops of other Churches by whom he was ordained.

§ 5. For because, according to that which we conceived The elecafore from the beginning, Bishops were propagated through constituall Churches by no other means but by the assistance of tion of Bishops neighbour Churches that had Bishops afore, hereupon it pro-upon what ceeded to be a custom in the Church, that a Bishop was not grounds. made without approbation and consent of the neighbour 161 Bishops, from whom he was to receive imposition of hands, and with whom he was to preserve the unity of the Church, which at that time was actuated by no means, but by the correspondence of Bishops in the name of their Churches. This is the ground of the custom, that under three Bishops it was not usual to ordain one v. Novatianus was ordained by no less at Rome, in the way of schism, against Cornelius, who was ordained by sixteen, as we read in St. Cyprian*.

§ 6. But when the proceeding of this business came to be [Reguregulated by the canons of Nice and Antiochia, -the Church councils.] by that time being incorporated in the state of the Roman empire,-then was it thought fit that a Bishop should be made by all the Bishops of the province, the Metropolitan, that is, the Bishop of the head city, in chief, without whom

where this subject is treated of more

^{*} S. Ambros. Offic. tom. ii. col. 241. ed. Ben. "one," "own" in the original text.

[&]quot; Chap. vi. sect. 5.
" Vide Petri de Marca de Concord, Sacerdot, et Imper. lib. viii. 2. 3.

at large.

* Episcopo a sedecim co-Episcopis facto. — Ep. lv. ad Antonianum de Cornelio et Novatiano, p. 112. ed

CHAP, nothing to be done; so that if some few agreed not, the business nevertheless to proceed, and be executed by three 162 at the least. The intent was indeed, so far as opportunity should serve, that these acts should be done at the provincial synods of Bishops, to be held twice a year by the fifth canon of Nice; as may be observed, among others, in that which St. Augustine mentioneth, contra Cresc. iii. 26 y: De vestris autem majoribus exstat Secundi Tiqisitani concilium, cum paucissimis quidem factum, apud Cirtam, post persecutionem codicum tradendorum, ut illic in locum defuncti ordinaretur Episcopus. "Of your predecessors there is extant a decree of Secundus, Bishop of Tigisis, made indeed with a very few, at Cirta after the persecution, for the delivery of books, that there a bishop might be ordained in stead of the deceased." If no such fell out, it was provided that three might do it, the rest consenting under their hands, canon xix. Con. Antioch . Thus, without consent of the Bishops, all proceedings of clergy and people were quite disabled and becalmed, if any faction, any sinister practice appeared in them; and all this upon the charge of the Apostle to Timothy, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, 163 neither be partaker of other men's sins." And by virtue of their ordination, a Bishop was established and invested; so that a Bishop with jurisdiction before ordination was an estate not yet come into the world, so long as the primitive custom and rule of the Church was in force, which it seemeth succeeding custom hath brought to pass since.

[Ordina-Bishop.]

§ 7. Now of all parts of the office common to Bishop and tion peculiar to the presbyters, this of ordination is that which the Bishop first

> 7 Contr. Crescon. Grammatic. tom. ix. col. 449. ed. Ben.

.... καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπαντοῖεν οἱ πάντες, βέλτιον εἰ δε δυσχερὲς εἴη τοῦτο, τοὺς γε πλείους εξάπαντος παρείναι δεί ή δια γραμμάτων δμοψήφους γενέσθαι.—Con-cil. Antiochen. A.D. 341. can. xix. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 593. ed. Venet.

a The jus prælaturæ accrues to a Bishop elect; but its exercise is for-bidden him before confirmation. By a rigid construction of the canons it came to pass that when confirmation was a separate act from consecration, the Bishop exercised jurisdiction though not consecrated. Van Espen considers this separation to have begun as late as

the eleventh, or the commencement of the twelfth century. Jur. Eccles. Univ. part 1. tit. xiv. de confirmatione, c. i. 7. Peter de Marca, however, thinks it began in the fourth century, de Concord. Sacerdot. et Imp. lib. viii. cap. ii. 1. Cavallarius says plainly that to invest the Bishop with jurisdiction before he is consecrated, is "against the ancient discipline, which derived the jurisdic-tion of the Bishop and his whole power in sacred things from consecration, and made no distinction between the power of order, and that of jurisdiction." Institut. Jur. Canonic. part i. cap. xxiv. viii. Matriti. 1821.

began to exercise alone; so that with St. Chrysostom and St. CHAP. Hierome it is taken in a manner for granted that it was to be done by him alone. The one, Hom. xi. in 1. ad Tim. b: τη̂ γάρ χειροτονία μόνη ύπερβεβήκασι, καὶ τούτω μόνον δοκούσι πλεονεκτείν τους πρεσβυτέρους.—" only in ordination the Bishops go beyond the presbyters; that is it alone which they seem to have more than these." The other, Ep. ad 164 Evangel.c: Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, Episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat? "For what doth a Bishop that a presbyter doth not, excepting ordination, which a Bishop

doth, a presbyter, as he granteth, doth not."

§ 8. In which, nevertheless-setting aside the stroke the Presbyters presbyters had in making their Bishops—if we take not our had their marks amiss, we shall find argument enough, at least at the ordinations. beginning, for the concurrence of presbyters with him in making of presbyters and other inferior orders. In the first place, those general passages of the Fathers wherein is witnessed that the presbytery was a bench assistant to the Bishop, without advice whereof nothing of moment was done, must needs be drawn into consequence to argue that it had effect in a particular of this weight. Then the ordination of Timothy, by imposition of hands of the presbytery, will prove no less within compass of the Scripture.

165 § 9. Indeed it is well known that the word πρεσβυτέριον in [πρεσβυecclesiastical writers signifieth divers times the office and rank Tépior of presbyters, which signification divers here embrace, expounding "imposition of hands of the presbytery" to mean that by which the rank of presbyter was conferred. But the Apostle's words, running as they do, μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου^e, oblige a man to ask, when he is come as far as "the imposition of the hands," of whom or whose hands they were he speaketh of, which the next words satisfy. Had it been μετὰ χειροθεσίας τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, the sense might better have been diverted; but running as it doth with the article, μετά ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, "with imposition of the hands," it remaineth that it be specified in the next words whose hands were imposed, as

^b S. Chrysost. Opp. tom. iv. p. 289. ed. Bened. ed. Savil.

8 S. Hieron. Opp. tom. iv. p. 803. d Vide Suiceri Thesaur. in voce. * 1 Tim. iv. 14.

CHAP. in the other place, 2 Tim. i. 6, μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν

XII. μου, " with imposition of my hands."

[What it signifleth.]

§ 10. Thus this word πρεσβυτέριον, in the Gospel, Luke xxii. 66, and in Ignatius' epistles, signifieth the college of 166 presbyters, which hath the nature and respect of a person in law, and therefore is read in the singular for the whole bench; and being assembled and set is called συνέδριον in both places, and in Cornelius of Rome's epistle' to St. Cyprian, where he saith, placuit contrahi presbyterium. But to put the signification of the word out of doubt by the circumstance of the sense, call to mind the prophecies that went before concerning Timothy, and compare his case with the Apostle's, and the prophecies that went before of him in like case, and the imposition of hands which thereupon both received; and sure it will prove an unreprovable ground, to conclude that what is expressed in the Apostle is to be understood of the disciple, that these prophecies, declaring^g the purpose to which God 167 hath ordained them in His service, occasioned that which they did about both in giving them imposition of hands; and that as St. Paul received imposition of hands from the Church^b of Antiochia, so did Timothy from St. Paul and the presbyters of that Church, which he speaks of, but names not.

[Presbyters had their part in ordinations shewn from the practice of the Church.]

§ 11. Neither are the arguments of this interest quite worn out of the practice of the Church, either in the point of nominating the persons, or that of imposing hands. For when St. Cyprian¹ expresseth himself so oft in this particular, that it was not his purpose to do any thing without advice of his presbyters and consent of his people, it is not his meaning that the clergy should bear no other part in this work than did the multitude; but as they were distinct bodies, so, according to his own words, to expect advice from them as concerning the persons to be promoted, but 168 consent from the people, if there were no fault to be found of moment with the persons designed. And on these terms

f Omni igitur actu ad me perlato, placuit contrahi presbyterium. -- Ep. xlix. ap. St. Cyprian. Epist. p. 92. ed. Oxon. g "Declaring," "prophecies, coming from the ministers of the Church, concerning the purpose," &c. first edition. h "Church." "presbyters" first edi-

In ordinationibus clericis, . . . solemus vos [presbyteros et diaconos] ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare.

—Ep. xxxviii. p. 74. See also Ep. lv. ad Antonianum, p. 104, and Ep. lxvii. ad fratres Hispanos, p. 172, cd. Oxon.

the matter stands in the twenty-second canon of that which CHAP is called the fourth council of Carthage, where is provided, ut Episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum clericos non ordinet, ita ut civium assensum, et conniventiam et testimonium, quærat. "That a Bishop ordain no clergymen without the advice of his clergy, so that he seek the consent and testimony and connivence of the citizens." Because the rule was, as I saidk, that Bishops' sees should be planted in cities. And as for imposition of hands, we have, in the epistle aforesaid of Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia1-if not rather of the whole act of ordination-Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia constituta sit, in qua præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem.

enough to speak to our purpose-speaking to his deacon of his presbyters, Έκεινοι βαπτίζουσιν, ίερουργούσι, χειροτονόύσι, 169 χειροθετούσι σύ δὲ αὐτοῖς διακονεῖς, ὡς Στέφανος ὁ ἄγιος ἐν Ίεροσολύμοις Ἰακώβω καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις,—" they baptize, they celebrate the Eucharist, they impose hands in penance, they ordain: thou ministerest unto them, as holy Stephen at Jerusalem to James and the presbyters." And where it is provided, Conc. Carthag. iv. c. 3n, that the presbyters, when the Bishop giveth imposition of hands, shall likewise impose their hands by his, it behoveth us in their case also to call to mind that this is, and was, and ought to be, in sign of their consent to what is done; the Apostle having said to Timothy, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins."

"All power and grace is settled in the Church in which the elders are president, having power both of baptizing and of imposing hands, in penance, and of ordaining." And in Ignatius' epistle to Hero m,-whosoever wrote it, it is ancient

§ 12. But the interest of the people is enhanced beyond all Xeipotovia measure or rule of primitive practice. It will not serve the election turn, that the people had then satisfaction of the persons, and by holding up hands.

J Concil. Carthag. iv. A.D. 398. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1439, where the reading is:—civium conniventiam et testimonium quærat. That in the text may be seen in the older editions.

¹ In chap. vi. sect. 5.
¹ Ep. lxxv. p. 221. ed. Oxon.
² Cap. iii. p. 114. ed. Coteler, ep.

Adscript.

n Presbyter cum ordinatur, Episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius te-neant.—Concil. Carthag. iv. A.D. 398. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1437. ed. Venet.

CHAP, their competence to the ministries to which they were or-- dained, unless we will believe that when it is said, Acts xiv. 170 23, γειροτονήσαντες δε αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' Ἐκκλησίαν, the meaning is, that they were made by most voices of the people, signified by holding up their hands—as we find in Demosthenes and others that custom to have been in Greekish communalties—Saul and Barnabas doing nothing but moderating the choice, that is, in effect, telling the voices. And to this purpose is alleged that of the Apostle, 2 Cor. viii. 19, "And not that only, but who was also chosen of the Churches to travel with us, with this grace that is administered by us;" where in the Greek is $\chi \epsilon i \rho \sigma \tau \sigma \eta \theta \epsilon l s$, signifying election, as they would have it, and not ordination, seeing the office of carrying alms requireth no imposition of hands. To which let me add, if they refuse not that help, the words of Ignatius, much in the same kind; for in his epistles ad Smyrn. 9 et ad Polyc., out of his care and affection to his Church at 171 Antiochia, having received news of their good estate, and finding himself in the like, he desires the Church of Smyrna and Polycarpus to choose one to go with their letters to Antiochia, whom he will have called θεοπρεσβευτήν -so it should be read, not θεοπρεσβύτην—or θεοδρόμον, a messenger in matters belonging to God, to certify them of his good estate, and to congratulate with them of their own. This

> o This is in allusion to Calvin, who writes thus: Refert enim Lucas constitutos esse per Ecclesias presbyteros a Paulo et Barnaba: sed rationem vel modum simul notat, quum dicit factum id esse suffragiis. Χειροτονήσαντες, inquit, πρεσβυτέρους κατ Έκκλησίαν. Creabant ergo ipsi duo; sed tota multitudo-ut mos Græcorum in electionibus erat—manibus sublatis declarabat quem habere vellet. Nempe sic Romani historici non raro loquuntur, consulem qui comitia habuerit, creasse novos magistratus, non aliam ob causam nisi quia suffragia et populum moderatus sit in eligendo. This is repeated by Cartwright in his Reply to Whitgift, p. 29. sect. 5. p. 44, second edition. "In another place I conclude, that St. Luke, Acts xiv, used that word, as the Grecians before him, for election by suf-frages."—The Second Reply to Whit-gift's Second Answer, p. 208. London, 1575.

P In the Admonition to the Parliament, thus "then no (Acts xiv. 13, 2 Cor. viii. 19.) minister placed in any congregation but by the consent of the people, now that authority is given into the hands of the Bishop alone;" to which Whitgift replies, ' that no minister was placed in any congregation, but by consent of the people, you allege the fourteenth chapter of the Acts, and of the second to the Corinthians the eighth chapter."-Answer to the Admonition, p. 72. London, 1573.

Πρέπει είς Θεοῦ τιμὴν χειροτονῆσαι την Έκκλησίαν δμών θεοπρεσβύτην.-

Ερ. Interp. cap. xi. p. 92. ed. Coteler.
Τρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε συμβούλιον άγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον, και χειροτονῆσαι τινα, δν άγαπητον λίαν έχετε και ἄοκνον, δι δυνήσεται θεόδρομος καλεῖσθαι.—Cap. vii. p. 43.

Ussher says that this reading is to be preferred.

office, it seemeth, requireth no imposition of hands; and CHAP. therefore that χειροτονία, by which Ignatius desireth them to appoint it, signifieth, as it should seem, not ordination, but election, by the same reason as that of the Apostle.

§ 13. The rest that is brought to avouch this new conceit is the words of Zonaras, upon the first of the canons of the Apostles, where, in downright terms, he delivereth the use 172 of this word χειροτονία to come from the fashion of giving voices by holding up hands, used in the Church at first, to discern on which side most voices were, from whence it came afterwards to be used for imposition of hands". But let them bethink themselves, that if these presbyters were made by Saul and Barnabas by holding up hands of the people, then were they not made by imposition of their own hands; for if we take that sense of the word χειροτονείν, the other must needs be excluded. And then let me ask, if it be a thing reasonable to measure the sense of the Apostle's language by what was done at Athens, rather than by that which, among the Jews, from whence the faith of Christ was transplanted, was known, and in use? or to imagine that the Apostle,-to follow the fashion of Greekish communalties, never heard of in after-ages of the Church,-should balk the ceremony which 173 the people of God had received from Moses, -which was from old time frequented in creating their Sanhedrin-judges-which the Apostles in their own persons practised-which the Church hath always observed in promoting of ministers, signifying the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, and praying to obtain it x.

t Legimus enim Paulum Apostolum et Barnabam, initio exorientis Ecclesiæ presbyteros per singulas civitates seu Ecclesias χειροτονία, hoc est, suffragio et consensu populi ordinässe. Id testatur D. Lucas Act. cap. xiv. 23, χειροτονήσαντες πρεσβυτέρους κατ' Ἐκκλησίαν. Unde et ipse Lucas dicitur χειροτονηθείς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑκκλησιῶν ευτήσαμε δε Εκκλησιῶν το Εκτρονονία δυτήσαμε δε Εκκλησιῶν το Κειροτονία δυτήσαστο.—Justellus in his

notes upon the Canons of the Universal Church, Bibliothec, Jur. Canon. Veter. tom. i. p. 85. ed. Paris. 1661.

τοπ. i. p. 85. ed. Paris. 1661.

α. . ὅτε γὰρ τοῖς τῶν πόλεων πλήθεσιν ἐξῆν ἐκλέγεσθαι τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, συνήσταν τὰ πλήθη, καὶ οἱ μὲν τόνδε ήροῦντο, οἱ δε τόνδε Ἱνα οδν ἡ τῶν πλειόνων κρατοἰη ψῆφος, λέγεται τείνειν τὰς χεῖρας τοὺς τὴν ἐπιλογὴν ποιουμένους, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἔκαστον ψηφιζομένους καὶ τὰν παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων αἰρούμενον εἰς τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην προκρίνεσθαι: κὰντεῦθεν ἐξελήφθη τῆς χειροτονίας τὸ ὕνομα.—Zonar. in Can. i. Apost. apud Beveregii. Synodic. tom. i. p. 1. Oxon. 1672.

^{*} Hunc ordinem sacerdotii figurarunt sacerdotes et Levitæ, et Ithamar

CHAP.

§ 14. To the words of the Apostle and Ignatius, sceing they have in them no appearance of resolute sense, let me of St. Paul imposition of hands, yet it is no inconvenience they should answer two ways. First, though they were not ordained by Ignatius.] be called χειροτονηθέντες, using the word in a general sense, for those that are ordained or constituted in any form, because this form was so frequented on divers occasions: as, for the purpose, among the Jews all their rabbis are called נסמכים, which in the letter signifieth χειροτονηθέντες, or "ordained by imposition of hands," because at the first so they were 174 made, though they be not promoted after that form, but made, as since they are ordinarily made, by writing or word of mouth, as Rabbi Moses, in Sanhedrin, chap. iv. writeth. But, in the second place, observe the words which Ignatius, writing to Polycarpus about this matter, useth: Πρέπει . . . συμβούλιον άγαγείν θεοπρεπέστατον, καὶ χειροτονήσαι, εἴ τινα άγαπητὸν λίαν ἔγετε καὶ ἄοκνον, δς δυνήσεται θεοδρόμος καλεῖ- $\sigma\theta a \iota^2$. Where, for the constituting of a person fit for this purpose, he adviseth him to convent one of these assemblies wherein they used to advise about ordinations, as hath been said. And therefore it seemeth no inconvenience to think that he desireth him to be ordained to that purpose. Whereupon it will not be amiss to enquire a little further, to what ministry in the Church such a person may be thought to be ordained; wherein if we fail not, perhaps it will make us 175 able to give a fair conjecture at that of the Apostle by the correspondence of the cases.

Ordination of deacons for common business of

§ 15. Ignatius, in the epistle to the Philadelphians*, writeth to them for the same purpose, as here he doth to those of

et Eleazar et Phinees sacerdos, et Churches. Zacharias. Habitavit Excelsus super montem Sinai, et descendit manus Ejus in Mosem, et Moses posuit eam super Aaron, et deducta est usque ad Joannem, Joannes dedit eam Domino nostro, Dominus noster dedit eam Apostolis, et illi per creaturas omnibus ordinibus sacerdotii. Hunc sacerdotii gradum constituerunt nobis sancti Apostoli, et hodie in medio Ecclesiæ per manus Patris nostri perficitur.— Syrorum Maronitarum Ritus Ordinationis Presbyteri: ap. Joan. Morin. Comment. de Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus, p. 337. Antverpiæ, 1695.

7 Tandem istam Rabbinorum creationem solo aliorum Rabbinorum edicto sine manuum impositione fieri posse asseverârunt, ita ut vel absentes, atque etiam per epistolam creari possent, modo promovens et ordinans starent Isrælis aut in terra Babel Unde ordinatio apud eos duplex statuitur una cummanuum impositione, altera solo verbo .- Morini de Sacr. Ordin, part iii. Exercit, vii. c. 4. p. 112. See Discourse of Religious Assemblies, chap. iii. sect. 25.

Ep. Interp. cap. vii. p. 97. ed. Coteler.

Cap. x. p. 85. ed. Coteler.

Smyrna, though the sense is hitherto disguised in the printed CH. copies, in which the words run thus: Ἐπειδαν ἀπηγγέλη μοι εἰρηνεύειν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν 'Αντιοχεία τῆς Συρίας, πρέπον έστιν ύμιν, ώς Έκκλησία Θεού, χειροτονήσαι Επίσκοπον, είς τὸ πρεσβεύσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν, εἰς τὸ συγχωρηθηναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις, καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ: which words, it is plain, make no sense. But I have seen the written copy of an old translation of these epistles in barbarous Latin, in Caius College library here with us, in which these words are rendered thus: Quia annunciatum est mihi, pacem habere Ecclesiam, quæ est in Antiochia Syriæ; decens est vos, ut Ecclesiam Dei, ordinare diaconum ad interce-176 dendum illic Dei intercessionem, in conquudere ipsis in idipsum factis, et glorificare nomenb. "Whereas it is told me that the Church of Antiochia in Syria is in peace, it becometh you as a Church of God, to ordain a deacon that may intercede there the intercession of God, in congratulating with their assembly and glorifying the name." He that made this translation read here χειροτονήσαι διάκονον instead of Έπίσκοπον, and συγχαίρειν or συγχαρήναι αὐτοῖς, which now is read συγχωρηθήναι, and maketh it no sense; and this is without question the true reading for it followeth, μακάριος . . . δς κατηξιώθη της τοιαύτης διακονίας. And where he saith afterwards, ώς καὶ ἀεὶ αἱ ἔγγιστα Ἐκκλησίαι ἔπεμψαν Ἐπισκόπους, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, "as always the next Churches were wont to send their Bishops, some, presbyters and deacons." It is agreeable to the charitableness of those times to think that neighbour Churches sent some their Bishops, some their presbyters or deacons, to comfort, to advise, to congratulate with his Church of Antiochia in their Bishop's absence; and reasonable it is that he should desire those of Smyrna and Philadelphia should ordain a deacon for that purpose: but that they should make a Bishop for it, as 177 now we read it, is without the compass of common sense to imagined. Be it then resolved, that it is no other than a

b See an account of this MS. in Smith's preface to his edition of St. Ignatius, Oxon. 1709.

the reading suggested in the text.

d Voctius insisted on the false read-

^c Thorndike conjectured rightly. Vossius published the genuine epistles, out of a MS. in the library at Florence, in the year 1646 at Amsterdam, having THORNDIKE

ing, writing thus: "Philadelphensi Ecclesiæ tribuit Ignatius potestatem eligendi seu constituendi Episcopum Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ."—Desperata causa Papatus, lib. ii. sect. i. cap. 10. p. 122.

CHAP. deacon which Ignatius desires those of Smyrna, as well as XII. these of Philadelphia, to ordain, to carry this message.

[Shewn from the New Testament,]

§ 16. And let me have leave to conjecture, that those whom the Apostle-in the place alleged, 2 Cor. viii. 23calleth ἀπόστολοι Ἐκκλησιῶν, "messengers of the Churches," were by their rank in the Church no other than deacons; which is, by like reason, to be said of Epaphroditus, whom St. Paul, Phil. ii. 25, calleth "the apostle of the Philippians, and minister of his necessities;" and perhaps of Andronicus and Junias—reading it for the name of a man, and not of a woman—Rom. xvi. 7, where they are called ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς 'Αποστόλοις, "noted among the Apostles." For the name Apostle is relative to him by whom he is sent. The Apostles of Christ are Christ's messengers; the apostles of Churches are the messengers which they send on common business. Now 178 ye shall often find, in the practice of the ancient Church, that deacons were sent to foreign Churches about the business of their own. And this practice beareth correspondence with the synagogue: for those that are called among them חוני חכנסת of whom Epiphaniuse speaketh in these terms, describing their office, καὶ 'Αζανιτῶν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς διακόνων έρμηνευομένων, ἡ ὑπηρετῶν, "that they are by interpretation deacons or ministers," are by another name called שליחי הציבור, which is verbatim ἀπόστολοι της συναγωγης or ἐκκλησίας, "messengers of the synagogue," because it is like they were wont to be employed about business of the synagogue. And therefore, if the person of whom St. Paul speaketh be no other than St. Luke the Evangelist, as many think, and the subscription of that epistle beareth, when he sets him forth thus, 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19: "Now we have sent with him our 179 brother, whose praise is in the Gospel"—or in preaching the Gospel-"through all the Churches; and not that alone, but was ordained by the Churches to travel with us, with this grace which is ministered by us," I shall not stick to think of him—as of Philip the deacon and evangelist—that for his rank he was ordained a deacon by consent of many Churches; in some of them to dispense the alms they sent with St. Paul

Amstelodami, 1635. See also Vedelius in his notes upon this epistle, cap. xix. p. 159. Genevæ, 1623.

* Contr. Ebion. Hæres. 30. cap. xi. p. 135. ed. Colon.

to Jerusalem, though for his personal grace he was an evan- CHAP. gelist. Nay, if the question be asked, to what rank Timothy was ordained by that imposition of hands of the presbytery mentioned by the Apostle? my answer must be-seeing presbyters are for the oversight of their Churches, and Bishop he was none till he undertook his charge at Ephesus -that he was ordained deacon by that Church, to give 180 attendance on St. Paul in his travels, for which purpose his personal grace of evangelist was very opportune; for thus much Ignatius hath said, writing to the deacons at Trallis, "that the deacons were such as ministered a pure and blameless ministry; as holy Stephen to blessed James, and Timothy and Linus to Paul, and Anacletus and Clemens to Peterf."

§ 17. Now, as for Zonaras—that had a mind to shew his [Zonaras reading in Demosthenes, or the like Greek authors, and im-mistaken.] prove it by expounding the canons according to it-it is but sending him to Balsamon for his answer, who, writing upon the same canon, hath met this impertinence of his with an unavoidable reason to convince his mistake; which is, that χειροτονία, in the canons, cannot mean election by most voices, because the choice of a Bishop is done by all the Bishops of the province, according to the canons of Nice and 181 Antiochia, alleged aforeg; whereas the ordination, which is χειροτονία, is performed by two or three, by the tenor of that canon of the Apostlesh. And therefore Justellusi, by the way, did not right to allege Balsamon for one that seconds Zonaras in this conceit, wherein it is plain he hath laid him

άρχιερέως λέγοντα ύπο Επισκόπων δύο ή τριών χειροτονείσθαι Ἐπίσκοπον.— Balsam. in Can. i. Apostol. apud Beve-

regii Synodic. tom. i. p. 1.

See note t. It is not unlikely that
Justellus alludes to the commentaries
of Balsamon on the fifth canon of the council of Laodicea, for in the note upon canon clxxxiv. he cites them for his purpose. His mistake therefore will be less than if he had alleged the com-mentaries upon the first of the Apostolic canons, though still great, for Balsamon says, κατ ίδίαν οἱ ἀρχιερείς καὶ μόνοι συνερχόμενοι ψηφίζονται, excluding the people from the elections.
—Beveregii Synod. tom. i. p. 455.

¹ See note e, chap. v. sect. 6.

E Chap, xii. sect. 6.

^{...} οὐ μὴν περὶ ψήφου, καθώς τινες είπον, ἀκολουθήσαντες τοις ἀγράφως λεγομένοις, διά την των χειρών έκτασιν, την γενομένην ότε παρά τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πόλεων αὶ ψῆφοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἡ ἐπ' ἐκκλη-σίας χειροτονία διὰ μυστικῶν εὐχῶν τελείται, κάν ενώπιον πολλών γίνηται. άλλως δε τοῦ δ΄. κανόνος τῆς εν Νι-καία α΄. ἀγίας συνόδου, διοριζομένου τὴν τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου ψῆφον γίνεσθαι παρὰ πάντων τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας Ἐπισκόπων η τέως τριών, έγγράφως και τών λοιπών σημαινούντων, άπορω πως είπον τινες τον κανόνα τοῦτον νοεῖσθαι περί ψήφου

CHAP. upon his back. To which let me add this: the fifth canon - of Laodiceak provideth μη δείν τας γειροτονίας επί παρουσία ἀκροωμένων γίνεσθαι, "that ordinations be not made in presence of the hearers or catechumeni," that is, "elections," saith Zonaras. For this canon he allegeth for his purpose, because at elections scandals were ripped up, and men's faults examined! And so say all those that allow the people interest of approving or excepting against those that stood to be ordained; but he that looketh as far as the thirteenth canon of that council will never allow the people right of electing by most voices according to that council, which provideth, περὶ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιτρέπειν, τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποι-182 είσθαι των μελλόντων καθίστασθαι είς ίερατείον,—" that the choice of such as are to be placed in the rank of presbyters must not be yielded to the people." Now it is well enough known, that many times at these assemblies for making of ministers, the votes of the people, desiring such or such persons for Bishops, or presbyters, or others, prevented the order in practice, nominating such beforehand as they desired to have made; as it is to be seen in the eminent examples of Augustine^m among presbyters, and St. Ambroseⁿ among Bishops. Neither was it an inconvenience, that those which ordained should balk the accustomed course to give satisfaction to the people's desire, when there was appearance that it was bred upon a due opinion of merit in the person recommended.

the people best Christian emperors did oftentimes of themselves nomi-183 is satisfied nate to the bishopping of the same, when the § 18. And the case is in a manner the same, when the nate to the bishoprics of the chief seats of the empire', where

i. Can. Apostol. apud Beveregii ut supr.

k Conc. Laodic. circ. A.D. 364.

Labbei, tom. i. col. 1531. ed. Venet. 1 Χειροτονίας δε τας ψήφους ώνόμασεν ἐν δὲ ταῖς ψήφοις διὰ τὸ εἰσάγεσθαι τινά αἰτιάματα κατά τῶν ψηφιζο-μένων ἀνδρῶν, ἀπηγόρευται τὸ πάρειναί rıvas, καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι τούτων.—Comm. in

m....jam scientes catholici sancti Augustini propositum et doctrinam, manu injecta,.....eum ergo tenuerunt, et, ut in talibus consuetum est, episcopo ordinandum intulerunt. omnibus id uno consensu et desiderio fieri perficique petentibus, magnoque studio et clamore flagitantibus, ubertim eo flente.

⁻Possidius in Vita S. Augustini, cap. iv. col. 260. App. tom. x. ed. Ben

a....perrexit (Ambrosius) ad Ecclesiam, ibique cum alloqueretur plebem subito vox fertur infantis in populo sonuisse Ambrosium episcopum 🗘 ita qui antea turbulentissime dissidebant repente in hunc unum mirabili et incredibili concordia consenserunt .-- Paulinus in Vita S. Ambrosii, cap. vi. coll. ii. iii. App. tom. ii. ed. Ben.

Theodosius the Great nominated Nectarius to the throne of Constantinople, and Arcadius St. Chrysostom, Theodosius the Younger, Nestorius.

the state was most interested in the condition of the person CHAP. to be ordained. For in this they proceeded as those in whom AII. rested all the right of the people in that commonwealth: the now prac-Bishops proceeding to do their office—upon due knowledge tised. and approbation of the person-without examining the course of proceeding, as not so near concerning their charge. And thus it is plain that the Apostles did not leave the choice of Matthias or the seven deacons at large to the people; but qualifying the persons by their directions in whom those qualities were found-resting indifferent themselves-they referred to the knowledge of the people. For so we read of Matthias, Acts i. 21: "Of these men that have companied with us ever since the Lord Jesus went in and out among 184 us must one be chosen, to be a witness of His resurrection with us." And of the seven deacons, Acts vi. 3: "Wherefore, brethren, look you out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But had the persons been found not qualified, no man will be so gross as to think the Apostles might not, or ought not, to control the choice. And though it were granted, which with truth cannot be granted, that the presbyters aforesaid were made by Saul and Barnabas upon most voices of the people, yet if we reserve to them the nomination of the persons, the interest of the people will be less-rather than more-than the people of this Church useth at the present, though not in themselves, yet in the patrons of churches, to whom the Church 185 yieldeth it, in the name of the people, in respect to the merit of those that built or endowed churches; at least if the ancient canon were in use P.

P Originally the Bishops—as suc-cessors of the Apostles founders of all Churches either in person or by their immediate representatives—collated to all benefices within their territorial jurisdiction. But the council of Orange, A.D. 441. Can. x, innovated, or sanctioned innovations in this matter, by making it lawful for a Bishop who should found a church in another's diocese to present a clerk to that Bishop for institution. It is doubtful whether his successor had the same privilege. The council of Agda, A.D. 506. can. xxi., allowed oratories to laymen, but

the fourth council of Orleans, A.D. 541. can. vii., forbade them to introduce clerks without the approbation of the Bishop. At this time, if not in this year, Justinian published a law, Novell. 123. cap. xviii., by which he allowed the patronage to the heirs of the founders.

The third Lateran council, A.D. 1179, de jure patronalus, sanctioned the passing of the patronage to other persons than the heirs of the founders namely, to those who should acquire, by purchase or otherwise, the man

on which the church was built

depend on the cathe-

§ 19. For though it be a little without the terms of my [Parochial subject, yet let me say this word for the provision of pastors churches in rural congregations, that by the order thus far specified, it must needs come from the mother-Church, out of the gremials of it. In the first ages of the Church, there is little or no mention but of presbyteries in gross, for the common service of mother-Churches, whereof hitherto we speak. Afterwards, when the faith was planted, and congregations ordered, in the territories of those cities, or dioceses of those Churches, we find in the thirteenth canon of Neocæsareaq a difference made between the presbyters of them, whereof some are called there ἐπιχώριοι, others οἱ κατὰ πόλιν—these of the mother-Church, those of rural congregations. And by the canon of 186 Chalcedon, mentioned aforer, forbidding all ordinations at large but for the service of the city-Church, or other depending on it, it appeareth, that-by virtue of the ordination in the mother-Church, wherein the people concurred no otherwise than hath been said, whether presbyters or other,ministers were invested in their charge of those Churches. Before that time it is to be observed that the Council of Nice. canon xv., forbidding ministers to pass from city to citywhether Bishops, presbyters, or deacons—that is, to leave their own mother-Church to serve in another mother-Church, proceedeth in these terms:—"Εδοξε παντάπασι περιαιρεθήναι την συνήθειαν την παρά τὸν κανόνα εύρεθεῖσαν ἔν τισι μέρεσιν*, -"it seemed good to put down the fashion that is come up in some parts beside the rule;" signifying that the rule of the Church from the beginning was, to ordain ministers in 187 mother-Churches, for the service of those mother-Churches. But in the sixteenth canon, next following, it is further pro-

> English barons, in their letter to Pope Gregory IX., say that their forefathers had enjoyed this liberty "a prima Christianitatis fundatione in Anglia," -Matth. Paris, ad an. 1239. p. 513. London, 1640. The condition and privileges and duties of patrons are summed up in these lines :

Patronum faciunt dos, ædificatio, fundus.

Patrono debetur honos, onus, utilitasque,

Præsentet, præsit, defendet, alatur egemis.

⁹ Ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τῷ Κυριακῷ τῆς πόλεως προσφέρειν οὐ δύνανται, πάροντος ἐπισκόπου ἡ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεως ούτε μὴν ἄρτον διδόναι ἐν εὐχῆ, οὕδε ποτήριον. 'Ἐὰν δε ἀπῶσι, καὶ εἰς εὐχὴν κληθῆ μόνος, δίδωσιν.—Concil. Neocœsar. A.D. 314. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1513. ed. Venet.

r Chap. xii. sect. 3.

* The next words are, ωστε ἀπὸ πόλεως είς πόλιν μη μεταβαίνειν, μήτε ἐπίσκοπον, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον.—Concil. Nicen. A.D. 325. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 40. ed. Venet.

vided that they shall be constrained to return to their first CHAP. charges, in these terms:—'Αλλά πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην ἐπάγεσθαι χρή, αναστρέφειν είς τὰς ἐαυτῶν παροικίας,—" they must be constrained by all means to return into their own dioceses." For mapourla, in the canons, signifieth the country lying to the city of the mother-Church, which we call the diocese. This canon, speaking of presbyters and deacons, and not of Bishops, besides the voiding of such attempts, which is done in the fifteenth canon afore, providing a course to constrain them to return, extendeth further than the other did-to presbyters and deacons in country cures, whereas that rested in the mother-Church. So the third canon 188 of Antiochiat; so the fifteenth of the Apostlesu, providing that ministers should not leave τὰς ἐαυτῶν παροικίας, "their dioceses," as was said, speak plain to let us know how much the cures of the whole diocese, and the persons by whom they were exercised, were in the disposing of the mother-Church, when it appeareth that the ministers of them could not depart, to serve in or under other Churches, till they were dismissed their first charge, with letters of license from the mother-Church, which they called ἀπολυτικάς, or dimissoriasx.

§ 20. Wherein the condition of the Church is just that of the Greekish colonies: they were wont to have their priests sent them from the mother-cities, and reserved the first-fruits, which were the priests' due, for an honour to their founders; as Thucydides, lib. i. y and his scholiast writeth, alleging this 189 for an occasion of that war, because those of Corcyra neglected their mother-city of Corinth in that accustomed right. So all rural congregations, being at first nothing but colonies

released from their service in the Church in which they had been ordained, and permitted to settle in another diocese. No clergyman could be received in another Church without them. Concil. in Trullo. can. xvii. Labbei, tom. vii. col. 1356, ed. Venet. According to modern custom they are letters granted by one Bishop to candidates for orders in his own diocese to be ordained by another Bishop.

¹ Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος ἡ διάκονος ἡ δλως τῶν του ἱερατείου τις καταλιπὰν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ παροικίαν, εἰς ἐτέραν ἀπέλθοι. The penalty is suspension. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιμένοι ἐν ἀταξία, then the penalty is deposition from the holy ministry. Concil. Antioch. A.D. 341. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 588. ed. Venet.

a Almost in the words of the canon of Antiochia in the preceding note; it is the fourteenth in the Greek copies.

Labbei, tom. i. coll. 28. 48.

These were letters granted by the Bishop to those of his clergy whom he

to be ordained by another Bishop.

³ Έθος γὰρ ἦν ἀρχιερέας ἐκτῆς μητροπόλεως λαμβάνειν. cap. 25.

CHAP, of the faith, planted from mother-Churches, founded in mother-cities, from the time of the Apostles, it was but reason they should receive their pastors from the head of the diocese, where the charge of overseeing as well as planting them belonged. The right of presenting, then, yielded by the Church—to the people or to the patron, it concerns not in her regard—if it were to orders as well as to cures, was more than the people should have, in choosing out of those which Saul and Barnabas might nominate. But he that would have the people both name the persons, and choose out of those themselves named, neglecting imposition of hands, or enjoining it upon the choice, must first put the epistles to Timothy and Titus out of the Bible, lest, at the 190 first insight, that appear to belong to the office of men of their place, the account whereof lieth upon their charge. As for the constituting of Bishops, fit it is, in the first place, provision be made for the interest of the state, as well in ordering the choices, as in approving the persons chosen, that no man be established prejudicial to the commonwealth. But yet that course, in which the Christian emperors of ancient times interposed themselves to nominate the persons, being acknowledged to be beside the rule, did not destroy it in all, but balk it for the time.

What the primitive form requireth in tution of Bishops.

§ 21. Now, if the people from the beginning had a due share of interest in giving consent to those which were to be ordained their presbyters, much more must we needs think that it was due and of right, that the votes of the presbyters and consent of the people should go before, in designing the 191 persons under whom and with whom they were to guide and be guided in spiritual matters. As for imposition of hands of neighbour-Bishops, with whom the unity of the Church was to be preserved by the ordained, it was not then the formality of a thing done, but the substance of the act, resting upon the account of them that did it by virtue of the Apostle's charge. And therefore, though it is not easy for me to judge how far it concerneth the Church to retain the primitive form, yet it

toritate omnia agebant, qua cessante, omnia fuissent irrita, ut docet canon Nicænus iv. et vi. et canon xix. Antiochenus.-Petr. de Marca, de Concor. Sacer. et Imper. lib. viii. cap. iii. 5.

^{*} Hæc synodus ex omnibus Episcopis provinciæ constare debebat vel saltem ex tribus præsentibus . . . absentes consensum scripto dabant rebus gerendis, et tres illi cum Metropolitani auc-

is easy for indifferent persons to discern how much is required CHAP. to the retaining of it.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RULE OF CENSURING PERSONS ORDAINED DIRECTED TO TIMOTHY ALONE. THE OFFICE EXERCISED ACCORDING TO THE OTHER PARTS

Something would here be said, in the last place, of that The rule which dependeth upon these two last particulars, of penance suring and ordination; that is, the censure of offences, whether in persons doctrine or manners of persons ordained; because the Apostle directed seemeth to refer this to Timothy, that is, to the Bishop alone, thy alone. not mentioning any concurrence of his presbyters in it. For so we read, 1 Tim. v. 19, 20, "Against an elder receive not an accusation, but under two or three witnesses. Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may have fear." But having hitherto shewed that our Lord in the Gospel hath 193 appointed matters of particular offence to come before the consistory of Bishop and presbyters a; that the Apostles themselves, in divers matters belonging to the government of the Church, used their assistance b; that in the primitive times of the Church, even under the Apostles, matters of censure and ordination both were wont to pass by the presbyters, but in the assemblies of Christian people'; let me refer this to all indifferent persons to judge, whether the same course of proceeding were in likelihood observed in the censure of presbyters. The Apostle's direction, regulating what information to admit, is directed to Timothy alone; for the meaning is not, that two or three should be present when it is put in, but that it should not be admitted, but—as the Syriac translateth it-"upon the mouth," that is, the word, of two or three witnesses.

§ 2. But the censure of reproof is prescribed to pass in the The office congregation, when he saith, "them that sin," that is, them exercised according that are found in fault, "rebuke before all, that others may to the have fear;" no otherwise than the censure of the Apostle did of it.

^a Chap, xi. sect. 6. ^b Chap, ii. sect. 2.

Chap. xi. sect. 3, 12, and chap. xi

CHAP, and was prescribed to do, 1 Cor. v. 4, 2 Cor. ii. 6; and there-- fore we are to think that the examination of such causes must pass, as others of like nature, by him, with the presbyters, to whom the Apostle had assigned a charge of governing the Church there, Acts xx. 28, 35. So the keys of the Church, given to St. Peter and to the Apostles, were nevertheless intended to be exercised by the Church, as hath been said^d. So the charge of excommunicating heretics is directed to Titus alone, Tit. iii. 10: but we have no reason therefore to imagine that Titus is directed to proceed otherwise in it than we know the Church was wont to proceed in censures 195 of that nature, according to that which hath been said. And so it is in the case that followeth a little after, ver. 22f: "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins:" where the rule of ordinations is directed to Timothy alone; yet have we no cause to believe that it was practised by him otherwise than according to the form aforesaid, joining with him the presbyters in imposition of hands, as was practised by the Apostle. The eminence of their place is to be acknowledged, because the Apostle's instructions for managing these matters are directed to them alone. But their course of proceeding must be measured by that which we know otherwise.

CHAPTER XIV.

196

BETAINING THE PRIMITIVE FORM, BISHOPS CANNOT BE ABOLISHED. HOW AERIUS IS COUNTED A HERETIC. ALL DISPLEASURE AGAINST BISHOPS OCCASIONED BY DEFECT OF PRESBYTERIES. TO WHAT PURPOSE THEY MIGHT BE RESTORED.

THAT which hath been said, being intended to represent the primitive form, the form delivered in Scripture by the agreement of historical truth and primitive practice, concerneth no more, as every abolished man sees, than the government of mother-Churches contained in mother cities; because that is all the Scripture hath expressed. But what influence and effect this ought to have in the present state of the Church, now that dioceses

d Chap. xi. sect. 11. Chap. xi. sect. 10.

f 1 Tim. v.

are divided, churches built, and congregations assigned, is CHAP. not for a private person to particularize, unless he meant 197 to build churches—as some men do castles—in the air. Let it be enough to say thus much in general-which every man must think that believeth what hath been said to be truethat he that aimeth at the primitive form, and that which cometh nearest the institution of our Lord and His Apostles, must not think of destroying Bishops, but of restoring their presbyteriesg.

§ 2. Were it but a human ordinance of yesterday, esta- How blished by due course of right, let me be bold to say, that Aërius is if Aërius withdraw his submission to it, he must come within a heretic. Epiphanius' list of hereticsh; not understanding an heretic in St. Augustine's sense'-wherein Tertullian in his book de Præscript. j went afore him-to be none but he that will not believe some point of doctrine necessary, as the means of

g "For most certain truth it is that Churches cathedral, and the Bishops of them are as glasses wherein the face and very countenance of Apostolical antiquity remaineth even as yet to be seen, notwithstanding the alterations which tract of time and the course of the world hath brought. For defence and maintenance of them we are most earnestly bound to strive, even as the Jews were for their temple and the high-priest of God therein. The overthrow and ruin of the one, if ever the sacrilegious avarice of atheists should prevail so far, which God of His infinite mercy forbid, ought no otherwise to move us than the people of God were moved, when having beheld the sack and combustion of His sanctuary in most lamentable manner flaming before their eyes, they uttered from the bottom of their grieved spirits those the bottom of their grieved spirits those voices of doleful supplication, 'Exsurge Domine et miserearis Sion: Servi tui diligunt lapides ejus, pulveris ejus miseret cos.''—Hooker, bk. vii. ch. vii. 2. p. 224-5. ed. Keble. 1836.

h "Are we to think that Aërius had means in heine indeed an heartin for

wrong in being judged an heretic for holding this opinion? Surely if heresy be an error falsely fathered upon Scriptures, but indeed repugnant to the truth of the word of God, and by the consent of the Universal Church, in the councils, or in her contrary uniform practice throughout the whole world, declared to be such; and the opinion of Aërius in this point

be a plain error of that nature, there is no remedy, but Aërius, so schismatiis no remedy, but Aerius, so schismati-cally and stiffly maintaining it, must even stand where Epiphanius and Au-gustine have placed him. An error repugnant unto the truth of the word of God is held by them, whosoever they be, that stand in defence of any conclusion drawn erroneously out of Scripture, and untruly thereon fathered. The opinion of Aërius therefore being falsely collected out of Scripture, must falsely collected out of Scripture, must needs be acknowledged an error repugnant unto the truth of the word of God. His opinion was that there ought not to be any difference between a Bishop and a presbyter. His grounds and reasons for this opinion were sentences of Scripture."—Hooker, bk. vii. ch. ix. 2. p. 247-8. vol. iii. ed. Keble, 1836.

Sunt enim hæretici, quod fatendum est, qui singulis, vel non multo amplius, dogmatibus oppugnant regulam veritatis.—S. Augustin. lib. de Hæresibus, tom. viii. col. 27. ed. Ben. Istum nondum hæreticum dieo, nis manifestata sibi doetrina catholicæ fidei resistere maluerit, et illud quod

fidei resistere maluerit, et illud quod tenebat, elegerit.—De Baptism. contr. Donatist. lib. iv. cap. xvi. tom. ix. col.

135, ed. Ben.

J Hæc regula (symbolum Apostolo-rum) a Christo ut probabitur instituta, nullas habet apud nos quæstiones, nisi quas hæreses inferunt, et quæ hæreticos faciunt,—Tertull. adv. Hæret. cap. xiii. p. 333. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662

CHAP. salvation, to be believed; but, according to the latitude of the word, taking all to be heretics that make sects, and 198 assemble themselves apart beside the Church of God lawfully settled k. This sense is used in can. vi. Conc. Constantinop. 11, where they are counted heretics that hold the sound faith, ἀποσχίζοντας δὲ καὶ ἀντισυνάγοντας τοῦς κανονικοις ήμιν Έπισκόποις, "but cut themselves off, and assemble in opposition to us the canonical Bishops." And this latitude it seemeth Epiphanius comprised, because he reckoneth the Quartodecimani in the roll of heretics^m. These, when the position whereupon the separation is grounded is not of weight-setting their separation aside-to separate them from the invisible Church, are since, according to the authors named afore, by a proper term called schismatics, though heretics in the proper sense separate no less than they do. And of this crime my earnest desire is, that those which have separated themselves from this Church of England upon this quarrel of government by Bishops, or the like unjust or insufficient causes, may stand acquitted; though how they will 199 acquit themselves of it, I cannot yet perceive.

> § 3. But if the rank of Bishops over their presbyters be not only a just human ordinance, but estated in possession of sixteen hundred years, without deceit or violence at the beginning, let me have leave to think it will be hard to shew a better title of human right for any estate upon the earth. How much more, when the possession is avouched to have been delivered from the hands and time of the Apostles, must it needs seem strange that the successors of their place should be destroyed by the sons of their faith? Be it pardonable for our neighbours and brethren of the reformed Churchesⁿ

k Qui sunt hæretici, nisi qui, relicta Dei Ecclesia, privatas elegerunt socie-tates? de quibus Dominus dicit, Jer. ii. 13. Duo mala fecit populus meus, me dereliquerunt fontem aquæ vivæ, et fode-runt sibi cisternas [cisternas] dissipatas æ continere non valent aquas.—Isidori quæ continere non valent aquation.

Hispalensis, lib. prim. sentent. cap. xvi.

7. tom. vi. p. 157. Rom. 1802.

¹ Αίρετικούς δε λέγομεν.... και τούς την πίστιν μεν την ύγιη προσποιουμένους δμολογείν: then follow the words in the text.-Concil. Constantinopol. i. A.D. 381. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1127.

ed. Venet.

These heretics agreed with the Catholic Church in all things, except that for which they are called heretics, namely, that they celebrated the feast of Easter not according to the rule of the Church, on Sunday, but according to the law of the Jews, on whatever day of the week the Passover might happen.-Epiph. Hæres. 50. tom. i. p. 419. ed. Colon.

He uses the word in the popular

sense of the day; in another place he speaks of these "Churches" thus

abroad to have overseen the succession of the Apostles, be- CHAP. cause they could not discern it, as they found it blended 200 with such abundance of accessories, especially in the persons of men that hated to be reformed; but among us there hath been time to plead the right to the quick; and though not without eagerness of debate, which interest breedeth, yet always with advantage to the true tenure. And among the multitude of speech that this time hath bred, we have heard little or nothing, as yet, of new reasons to quell the cause with. So that, before advancing new plea, the old right descending from such hands standeth now in as good terms as ever heretofore. As for the point of peace within ourselves, and correspondence with our neighbours, be it considered how large St. Hierome-of all Church-writers least favourable to the order, as he that found himself pinched with the Bishop of Jerusalemo-hath been nevertheless in acknowledging that the peace of particular Churches could 201 not be preserved without itp. To which we must add the remembrance of so many happy days as this Church, since the reformation, hath seen, without such ruptures as have fallen out in other parts, by the benefit of it, among a people always observed to be of all others most daring to innovate opinions, in matters of religion especially, as well as in those that concern other knowledge. But he that calleth to remembrance that correspondence which, in ancient times, was actuated between Churches of several nations and peoplecommercio formatarum9, as Optatus speaketh, by traffic of those letters of correspondence which, under set forms, were wont to pass between Bishops in the name of their Churches -the true form of that unity which our Lord commended to His Church, after it was become catholic-must needs lament

be discerned how far the Church of England may abate of the right (of holding synods) for so good a purpose as to reconcile unto it those who may otherwise fall into Churches in name, but schisms indeed."—The Right of the Church in a Christian State, chan y.

chap. v.

o Vid. S, Hieron. Epp. 38, 39. Adv.
Errores Johannis Hierosolymytani, tom.
iv. ed. Ben.

P See note y. chap. ix. sect. 6.

q Quoted in note h. chap. v. sect. 8. Literæ, formatæ, or canonicæ, comprehend the communicatoriæ, commendatitiæ, dimissoriæ, and pacificæ. Without these, according to their circumstances or condition, none travelled into strange countries, for without them they could not be received into communion. These letters were granted by the Bishops only.—73. dist.

CHAP, to see that most beautiful peace of the Church, which was the effect of this government in ancient time, but since hath been defaced and lost, by the fault of them that hate to be 202 reformed, in the dissensions of Christendom alleged to destroy it. The honour and esteem, which the learned of the reformed Churches abroad have professed of the state of our Churches, and our charity in excusing the necessities of theirs, and acknowledging the efficacy of the ministry which they use s, will be sufficient, through God's goodness, to actuate the correspondence we desire to preserve with them, without those innovations which they never required at our hands to such purpose t.

All displeasure Bishops of pres-byteries.

§ 4. But he that acknowledgeth, and is glad to see these heads stand in their right place, looking back upon their Bishops occasioned beginning, which was to succeed the Apostles over several by defect presbyteries, in the place which they held over all for the time, must needs miss their relatives, the bodies of these presbyteries, in the government of Churches. And though that 203 alteration cannot be charged upon any man, which is come to pass through time and insensible custom; especially seeing it cannot be counted an alteration in this Church of England, because we are to think it had prevailed in the Church before this nation received the faith; yet must it needs be remembered, by him that believeth all the evil consequences which this government is charged with, whether in opinion or truth, to have come from the discharge of presbyteries from their part of the office. One particular no man need to be nice in reckoning to be of that nature, though it is not in the

> * Bishop Hall, in his "Humble Remonstrance," p. 32, mentions two of them, Lectius, a civilian, and Frederic Spanheim, Reader in Divinity at Ge-

> neva.
>
> "It is possible that some of our writers, and particular members of our Churches, may have been deceived in the question of fact, and esteemed the Lutherans and Calvinists more free from fault than they really were, but if so, it was a mistake as to fact only; there was no wish to countenance heresy or schism, which the Churches of Britain have always abhorred and condemned."
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> —Palmer's Treatise on the Church, vol.
> i. p. 392. second edition.
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> ^t The Puritans were desirous of a

formal recognition of the Protestants, and would have Episcopacy set aside for the purpose. Thorndike insists on the ancient way of intercommunion, which of course involves Episcopacy. --Smectymnuus, sect. xviii. Quæries about Episcopacy, write thus: "Why should England, that is one of the chiefest kingdoms in Europe that separate from Antichrist, maintain and de-fend a discipline different from all other reformed Churches which stand in the like separation? and whether the continuance in this discipline will not at last bring us to communion with Rome from which we are separated, and to separation from the other reformed Churches unto which we are united?"

power of one man-were he as much in love as I am with CHAP. the primitive form-or scarce of one age, without a public act to amend it. That is, the committing of jurisdiction at large-even that which is proper and essential to the Church, 204 by the power of the keys, which our Lord hath given it, as hath been said—in effect, to lay persons ". Which jurisdiction, though for the present it pass not upon present advice, but upon laws of the Church for the purpose, yet so long as laws are general and few, cases particular and numberless, will always deserve to be exercised with mature and charitable advice of those to whose charge our Lord first committed it, if we mean to attain the ends of correction and example. Though the profession by which it is ministered deserve to retain the rank it holdeth, in regard of those other points of jurisdiction in charitable causes*, by the favour of princes, and laws of commonwealths annexed to the Church, passing, as it doth, by the laws whereof they profess knowledge. This inconvenience, if such it be counted, seemeth 205 to proceed from that insensible change whereof hath been said: for had the presbyteries continued, as at the beginning, upon the exercise of this discipline of penance, it is not to be thought that power could have been so lightly alienated as from one, wherein a number had their interest.

§ 5. But this and the like consequences seem to have To what brought this undue opinion upon the Church-government, purpose they might that, as cathedral-churches long since, so now the state of be re-Bishops among indifferent men, is counted a matter of indifference, which, had they continued in the primitive charge, must needs have been counted—as counted they ought to be-inviolable. And therefore though, as the case standeth, it is neither possible nor desired to call the whole presbytery of a diocese to a share in the public government, yet let me 206 have leave to say, that the next course to retrieve the primi-

" The appointment of laymen into judicial places was made an argument of by the Presbyterians in favour of lay-elders, and also against the whole hierarchical discipline. " Was ever nerarchical discipline. Was ever such a thing as this heard of in the best primitive times," saith Smeetym-nuus, sect. x, "that men that never re-ceived imposition of hands, should not

only be received into assistance, but be wholly entrusted with the power of spiritual jurisdiction, even then when it is to be exercised over such persons as have had hands laid upon them." See also a pamphlet called "Christ on His Throne," cases v. and xi. printed 1640. * Causes testamentary and matri-

CHAP. tive form, with the wholesome grounds and consequences of XIV. it, is to re-estate these presbyteries in cathedral churches, and perhaps, in other populous places, seats of jurisdictions, where the diocese is great, furnishing them with number of men of abilities, and joining them with and under the Bishops, for assistance in all parts of the office hitherto proved common to both. It seems the means that hath brought to pass that insensible change whereof we speak, was from the beginning no other than this: because the form of proceeding in particular Churches was never regulated by canons of the Church, but left to particular custom. And therefore it is past my apprehension how more right should be done than distributing the common charge into particular interest, by such rules as may best express those general terms which the purest primitive times were con-207 tent with; that as without the Bishop nothing to be done, so the Bishop to do nothing without advice of his presbytersy.

> § 6. The performance of divine service in the cathedral, common sense finds too slight a work for such persons: the cures of all Churches within such populous places, if they belonged to their titles, would be a work suitable to such prime abilities. Then the exercise of the power of the keys in the discipline of penance, trial and approvement of persons presented to cures, or assistance of cures, according to laws—excluding all ordinations without such title—censure

⁷ That deans and chapters may continue with these conditions :-

^{1.} That they may be annexed to the parish churches in the great towns where the cathedrals stand.

^{2.} That they may be elected in those places by the king, with the approbation of the clergy and cum conscientia

^{3.} That they may be enjoined to preach ordinarily twice every Lord's Day at their parish.

^{4.} That they may preach every Sunday once or twice in their courses at

^{5.} That they may be a consilio to the Bishops in all matters of ordination and jurisdiction, so that nothing shall be done without them.

So shall the exceptions of non-em-

ployment and non-residence be taken

The Bishops' absolute authority in ordination and jurisdiction shall be moderated.

The admission of unfit men unto these dignities shall be prevented.

And all those great cities shall be furnished with an able ministry, which as a fountain of knowledge may derive it unto the country with which they have such perpetual commerce.—Five motives with reasons concerning deans and chapters, printed at the end of a pamphlet, with the title of "To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, the Humble Petition of divers of the Clere of the Church of England," A.D. 1641.

of offences in doctrine, or life of persons ordained, always CHAP. under the Bishop, and for his assistance-are works that require mature advice, and pass best in common for satisfac-208 tion to the public; matters of religion being by nature more popular than the commonwealth. If this be not enough, such may be men's abilities, that all these presbyteries may become schools of the prophets, and seminaries of able preachers through the several jurisdictions or dioceses; a thing wished on all hands, but not to be expected without means to bring it to pass. This hath been always desired at the hands of cathedral-Churches, and some steps of it remain still in some of ours; and though the staple of this education, being long since drained from other places to the two Universities, the charge hath been sustained by them alone with unspeakable benefit to the Church, as well as to the commonwealth, yet the assistance of these places with them, for the service of the Church, is not to be counted their prejudice, leaving entire unto them the place they possess of seminaries of the commonwealth.

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OF

RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES,

AND

THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF GOD.

A DISCOURSE

ACCORDING TO APOSTOLICAL RULE AND PRACTICE.

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TO THE READERS.

THERE is no such light to the true meaning of the Scripture, as the practice of matters contained in it, under the synagogue first, and in the Church afterwards. This is the reason of the course held here, in inquiring what was done, or arguing what is to be done, for the public service of God. It is not to be expected that the particulars here observed or discoursed under the judgment of this Church, and the learned in it, should indifferently take place. It is enough if the main foundation, which I have given my thoughts a little freedom to dig for, prove not fleeting. Then may it serve for the edifying of it unto peace. However, you see wherefore writing in English, nevertheless I produce the passages of writers in their own formal words. You shall find them translated for the satisfaction of all sorts. The learned readers may please to excuse me, if walking for the most part an untrodden path, they find nothing but work cut out, to be made up at leisure. All may please to do so much right to themselves or me, as to refer themselves to such things as the delay of the press hath given occasion to add at the enda, before they begin to read. The heads of matters here intreated, are premised for the ease of such as make choice of what they think best to read.

^{*} These additions are inserted in their proper place in the text of this edition.

CHAPTER I.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF GOD THE MOST EMINENT WORK OF CHRISTIANS. HOW THE FORM OF IT MAY BE DERIVED FROM THE SCRIPTURES. THE SUBJECT, AND THE PROCEEDING OF THIS DISCOURSE.

THE most eminent work that men are able to tender to CHAP. the honour of God, is His public service at the assemblies The of Christians. That supernatural tincture which the faith public of Christ and His grace infuseth into the best of our actions, of God seemeth to consist in the obedience to God, out of which the most they are done; and the intention of His glory and worship, work of Christians. to which they are addressed; -That the reason of them is derived from the will and pleasure of God, and the intent of them directed to His honour and service. Whereas all the men of this world can do nothing but out of love to 2 themselves, taking the rise and motive of their doings from that which concerneth their particulars, and aiming at nothing else in their intentions. All sorts of Christian men's actions, as they proceed from such considerations as these, are capable to be qualified "the service of God." But that which is called His public service professeth the exercise of nothing else, neither is capable to be accounted otherwise, unless it be counterfeit. For what consideration can common sense fasten upon that which we do, when we assemble ourselves for religious service, but the conscience of our subjection to God, the acknowledgment of our want of His direction and assistance, and our desire and affection to the good which we expect at His hands? Only to be public is still an addition of advantage to it, inasmuch as the honour, which it pleaseth God to accept at men's hands, becometh His greatness more when it proceedeth from more agreement of minds. And as the strength of men's bodies, joined to one purpose, removeth that, which, one by one, they could not do; so united devotions prevail with God to such effect, as severally they cannot bring to pass.

§ 2. The Prophet Esay, ii. 2—4, from the Prophet Micah, iv. 1, "In the last days it shall come to pass," saith he, "that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in prophets.] the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the 3 hills: and people shall flow unto it, and many nations shall come and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths: for the law shall go forth of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." And a third Prophet, Sophon. iii. 9, "For then will I turn to the people a pure language," or, a pure lip, "that they may call upon the name of the Lord with one consent," or, with one shoulder. The meaning of these Prophets is, to tell us what the Gentiles should do when they applied themselves to the Church—the mountain of God, the hill of Sion-by two principal particulars: they should flow like the waters of a deluge to learn the will of God which the Church teacheth; they should crowd in like a multitude, with one shoulder, to serve God with that language which He had sanctified. Who can read this, and not think what God recommendeth to Christians? one current to the Church, to learn His will there-one shoulder, striving who shall crowd in first—one lip, one language that soundeth nothing but His praises. So that in the public service of God are fulfilled the words of the Gospel, Matt. v. 14, "A city cannot be hid that standeth upon an hill:" be the profession what it will be that differenceth a true visible Church from a false, it must be the public service 4 of God that must make that profession visible. And the Apostle-1 Tim. ii. 8, "I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up pure hands without wrath or disputing" when he saith, "every where," taketh away the difference which the temple at Jerusalem made; when he saith, "without wrath or disputing," signifieth that his speech is of public assemblies, the fruit whereof he would not have intercepted through their dissensions: and so expoundeth that one lip of the Prophet, signifying that unity of mind which God's people serve Him with.

§ 3. This is too much to be said here, but perhaps too may be de- little to persuade how much the frame of public worship

concerneth the honour of God and His service: how much CHAP. it must needs be for the advantage of godliness, that it be formed without prejudice. Were all particulars of it ordered the Scripin Scripture—as the ceremonies of that figurative service tures. under Moses are-there were no more to do, but to make all things according to the pattern shewed in the mountain, Heb. viii. 5, Exod. xxv. 40. And he that did it should be, for his part, faithful in all the house of God, as was Moses, Heb. iii. 2, Numb. xii. 7. But he that is there said to be faithful in all the house of God as Moses was, hath dis-5 charged his office in revealing and establishing the substance of the worship of God in spirit and truth: and what is further determined in Scripture, and what is not, my purpose is not to dispute here, because my discourse proceedeth from that which I can find expressed in Scripture, to that which remaineth questionable, according to it. For my part, I do not find so much delivered concerning the service of God at the assemblies of Christians, any where in Scripture, as in the first epistle to the Corinthians, where the Apostle discourseth the use of spiritual graces of that time in those assemblies.

§ 4. And therefore my first travel in this little work shall The subbe, to inquire the true meaning of that whole discourse of ject, the Apostle, the proceeding of it, and the grounds whereupon his rules are framed. Which to do with success, I and the shall first discover the office of prophets and scribes under ing of the first and second temple—of the graces of prophesying this discourse. and of languages under the first times of the Gospel, in ministering the moral and perpetual-not the ceremonial and figurative service of God—at their assemblies for that purpose. To the result of which inquiries, if we shall join the rules which the same Apostle debateth in the eleventh chapter of the same epistle, concerning men and women veiling or uncovering their heads in those assemblies, and concerning 6 celebrating the Eucharist, with the feasts of love used then at common meetings, with the grounds whereupon they proceed; adding to both such passages of Scripture as fall in with the meaning of these, speaking home to what was done, or prescribed to be done, at their religious assemblies: perhaps by this means we shall be furnished of such princi-

CHAP. ples, and such rules derived thence, as the Scriptures afford the Church to proceed upon, as well in the substance of that which is to be done in the public service of God, as in the form, and course, and circumstances of it.

> § 5. And this, upon the by, will minister just occasion to inquire further into the condition of those graces and ministries, by which the several parts of this work were exercised at that time according to the Apostle, or intended to be exercised in after ages. To which point having said something of late in a little tract of the Primitive Government of Churches, and finding it too much slighted there—because the particular discourse of it suited not with the model of that treatise—my desire is to take it in hand upon this occasion once more, and inquire what further satisfaction the consideration of public service at their religious assemblies will yield them that desire the truth, as concerning the nature and condition of ministries first instituted for that purpose.

CHAPTER IL

DAYS OF ASSEMBLIES APPOINTED BY THE LAW. THE MORAL SERVICE OF GOD NOT SPECIFIED IN IT. BUT COLLECTED FROM IT. HOW THE JEWS ARE TAXED FOR SPENDING THE SABBATH IN PASTIME. PLACES OF SUCH ASSEMBLIES NOT PROVIDED IN IT. THE PRIESTS CHARGED TO TEACH THE LAW BY DECIDING CONTROVERSIES OF IT. THE CHAIR OF MOSES, THE CHAIR OF PROPHETS. HIGH PLACES, TO WHAT PURPOSE. BE-GINNING OF SYNAGOGUES. DISCIPLES OF PROPHETS STUDIED TO BE PROPHETS. THEY MINISTERED THE MOBAL SERVICE OF GOD IN HIGH PLACES AND SYNAGOGUES.

Or the figurative service proper to the law of Moses,—and assemblies that people which received it,—of the kinds, and times, and appointed that people which received is, by the law. place for offering sacrifices,—there is particular appointment in it: but of serving God by prayer, or hearing His word, you have there so much the less remembrance b. In Leviticus xxiii. we find the particular of all their solemnities that are called holy assemblies: for thus the general is propounded, ver. 2; "The assemblies of the Lord, which ye shall proclaim

· Chap. ix.

• See the Epilogue, book i. chap. 13.

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for holy convocations, these are My assemblies." The first CHAI of these is the Sabbath, then the Passover, Pentecost, the beginning of the new year, the day of atonement, and the 8 feast of tabernacles. And, with leave, I rather use the word assemblies than feasts in this place, because the name of feasts is proper to those solemnities which are to be celebrated with joy and cheerfulness: whereas in this number, the day of atonement was to be observed with the greatest humiliation that could be expressed. The original word מוער containing all assemblies, such as all these are commanded to be, and, as I take it, none else. For that which is read Ps. lxxxi. 3, "Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed, against the day of our feasts," dependeth upon the law, Numb. x. 10, "Also in the day of your gladness, and in your solemn feast days,"-or rather days of assemblies, for the word is the same that I translated so afore -"and in the beginning of your months, you shall blow with your trumpets over the burnt-offerings, and over the sacrifice of your peace-offerings, that they may be to you for a memorial before your God." Where we see three sorts of solemnities distinguished: first, "the day of your gladness," containing solemnities to be celebrated with cheerfulness of heart, that is, feasts: then, "the solemn days of assemblies," as the word signifieth, containing besides those, assemblies for humiliation, as the day of atonement: and last, "the beginnings of your months," wherein peculiar sacri-9 fices are enjoined, Numb. xxviii. 11. And here it is provided, that trumpets should be sounded over those sacrifices by the priests in the tabernacle; but that no assembly is appointed to be upon them, the difference here made between them and their days of assemblies, is presumption enough.

§ 2. But in particular, the first and last days of the passover, and feast of tabernacles—the one whereof was kept for seven days, the other for eight—were to be solemn assemblies, which the rest were not, and therefore in the Greek of the Septuagint are called μεγάλαι ἡμέραι, or great days, to wit, of those feasts, in comparison of the less. Esay i. 13. "The new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with:" τὰς νουμηνίας ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ σάββατα, καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν. The calling of assemblies is here translated "great

CHAP. day," as in the Gospel, John vii. 37, "In the last day, the great day of that feast." By which translation, that which is general in the original, is restrained to the first and last days of those two festivals. Now the Sabbath was the greatest of all solemnities appointed for assemblies: for they were commanded so to rest from bodily labour, as not to kindle fire, to dress the meat they eat upon it: for as in Exod. xvi. 5, 22, 29, God contesteth that He gave them a double measure of manna the day before, that they might dress it against the Sabbath: so we have again Exod. xxxv. 3, "You shall kindle no fire 10 throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath." The same, Levit. xxiii. 3, where Abenezra, "in all your habitations, that is, in your land, and out of your land, at home, and upon the way." To teach us, that it was not for the time that they lived upon manna in the wilderness, that they were forbidden to kindle fire upon the Sabbath, but through all their habitations, wheresoever they dwelt afterwards. And many have observed, that in Levit. xxiii. it is not said of any other day but of the Sabbath, and the day of atonement, "thou shalt do no work upon it;" but of the other days of assemblies, "thou shalt do no servile work upon them;" to shew us the difference between them, that upon the Sabbath and day of atonement it was prohibited to dress the meat of the day; but upon other solemnities that was permitted, but to do any work that men were wont to put their slaves to, was prohibited; which is the received practice of the Jews, and hath a just ground in the Scripture, Exod. xii. 16, where, of the first and last day of the passover, is said, "no manner of work shall be done in them, save that which every man must eat, that only may be done," or dressed, "of you." Abenezra upon that place, בכל המועדים ונו, "Of none of the solemn assemblies, beside the Sabbath and day of atonement, it is said, no manner 11 of work; only of the passover He saith it, and addeth an exception of the meat of the soul;" that is, requisite for the sustenance of naturec. Here is a strict command of bodily rest—especially upon the Sabbath, and that particularized—to concern both Israelites themselves, and their slaves, and those that sojourn within their gates.

The moral service of God not § 3. But that is very considerable which excellent divines

* See Epilogue, book iii. chap. 21.

have observed, that in the fourth Commandment, where is CHAP. so large provision for bodily rest, there the purpose of that rest is only pointed at in general terms, when it is commanded in it, but to be "sanctified;" which is likewise done in all their solem-collected from it. nities, when they are called "assemblies;" but there is no mention made of any particular work of the moral service of God, wherewith the Sabbath is commanded to be sanctified, or for performance whereof they are commanded to assemble, unless it be the reading of the law upon the seventh year, commanded Deut. xxxi. 11. So that it seemeth the Jews have reason, when they observe that neither the form, nor time of prayer, is appointed them by the law of Moses, but by the constitutions of their elders, Maimoni of Prayer, cap. i. num. 1, 2. Indeed, that the spiritual service of God, of prayers, and His praises, of hearing the Word, and meditating 12 upon His works, was the thing, for love whereof the Jews were commanded to keep the Sabbath, those miserable people, who in most things are blinded with the letter, and never look under the vail upon Moses' face, have been able always to perceive; as it is to be seen by the sayings of their late and ancient writers.

§ 4. Josephus adv. Appionem ii. ⁴ Κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀπέδειξε παιδευμάτων τὸν νόμον, οἰκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασαμένους, οἰδὲ δὶς ἡ τρὶς, ἀλλ' ἐκάστης ἐβδομάδος, τῶν ἔργων ἀφεμένους, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου ἐκέλευσε συλλέγεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν. "Moses propounded to the Jews the most excellent and necessary learning of the law; not by hearing it once or twice, but every seventh day, laying aside their works, he commanded them to assemble for the hearing of the law, and thoroughly and exactly to learn it." Philo de vita Mosis iii. ^e relating the passage of him that gathered wood on the Sabbath, of whom it is said, Numb. xv. 33, "they brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the congregation;" συλλαβόντες δ' ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα, ῷ συνήδρευον μὲν ἰερεῖς, παρειστήκει δὲ σύμπασα ἡ πληθὺς πρὸς ἀκρόασιν. "They take him," saith he, "and bring

d Cap. 17. p. 1378. ed. Hudson, Oxon. 1720. Hudson, instead of τρls, reads πολλάκιs, and inserts άλλων before τργων after Eusebius in Evangelic.

Præparat. book viii. chap. 8. p. 363. ed. Viger. Paris, 1628. e Philon. Opp. p. 685. Paris, 1640.

CHAP. him to the ruler, with whom sat the priests, all the multitude standing by to hear." He observeth that Moses was then expounding the law, as upon the assembly of the Sabbath; Aaron,—that is, as he expoundeth it,—the priests, sitting on the bench with him, the congregation standing by to hear. The observation he prosecuteth with his reason in these words: 13 "Εθος γάρ ην, ἀεὶ μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρείκον, προηγουμένως δὲ ταῖς έβδόμαις, ώς έδήλωσα καὶ πρόσθεν, φιλοσοφεῖν τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμόνος ύφηγουμένου, καὶ διδάσκοντος ἄ, τε χρὴ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, τῶν δ' είς καλοκάγαθίαν επιδιδόντων, καί βελτιουμένων, τά τε εθη καὶ τὸν βίου. ἀφ' οὖ καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν φιλοσοφοῦσι ταις έβδόμαις Ἰουδαιοι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν, τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἀναθέντες έπιστήμη, καὶ θεωρία τῶν περὶ φύσιν. τὰ γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια, τί ετερόν εστιν ή διδασκαλεία φρονήσεως; "For the custom was, always when occasion gave way, but principally on the seventh days, as I shewed afore, to be exercised in knowledge; the chief going afore and teaching, the rest increasing in goodness, and bettering in life and manners. From whence at this day the Jews study their country learning upon the seventh days, dedicating that time to knowledge, and the contemplation of nature. For the synagogues in cities, what are they but schools of wisdom?" And in his book de Decalogo', he deriveth the employment of the Sabbath in considering the works of God, and calling their own works to account, from that which God did in the beginning, when He saw all that He had made, and behold it was good.

§ 5. Abenezra upon the fourth commandment, Exod. xx. 8, ראינו כי ונו "We see that the year of remission is correspondent to the Sabbath, for it is likewise the seventh of years. And the Lord commanded that they should read the law in the beginning of it, before men, women, and children, expressing the reason, Deut. xxxi. 12, 'That they may hear, and learn, 14 and observe:' and behold, the Sabbath was given to consider the works of God, and to meditate upon His law, as it is written, Ps. xcii. 4, 'For Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through Thy work, I will triumph in the works of Thy hands.'"

R. Isaac Abarbinel upon Deut. v. 12, והיה עור מתועלת היום, בשבוע ללמור התורה האלהית וקבלת המקרש הוה לתת לשם יתכרך שביעית בשבוע ללמור התורה האלהית וקבלת רבריה עם סירושיה ודקרוקיה לשמור מאר וכמו שאמרו בנמרא ירושלמי לא

¹ Philon. Opp. p. 758. Paris, 1640.

כתנו שבתות וימים טובים אלא כדי ללמוד בהם התורה ועל זה אמרו במדרש CHAP. שמות רבה פרשה כו ודברים רבה ששקולה שבת כנגד כל חמצוות. "Besides, part of the benefit of this hallowed day is to give to the blessed God the seventh of the week, to learn the Divine law, and the tradition of the words thereof, the expositions of it, and to mark well the 'niceties' of it: as they say -that is, their ancient Talmud doctors-in the Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud, 'Sabbaths and feasts were not given, but to learn the law upon them.' And therefore they say in the great Midrash, or allegorical exposition of Exodus, sect. 26, and of Deuteronomy, 'that the Sabbath weigheth against all the Commandments:" as procuring them to be known and observed.

§ 6. A man may justly marvel, seeing the moral intent and How the 15 purpose of this Commandment was so well known among the taxed for learned of this people, how it cometh to pass that the Fathers spending the Sabof the Church charge the Jews so deep for observing the bath in Sabbath with bodily ease and luxurious pastimes. Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes. "Εκαστος ύμων σαββατιζέτω πνευματικώς, μελέτη νόμου χαίρων, οὐ σώματος ἀνέσει, δημιουργίαν Θεοῦ θαυμάζων, οὐχ εωλα εσθίων, καὶ χλιαρά πίνων, καὶ μεμετρημένα βαδίζων, καὶ ὀρχήσει καὶ κρότοις νοῦν οὐκ ἔχουσι χαίρων. I understand that there is cause to think these words to be none of Ignatius' own, and indeed the passage seemeth to have been crowded in hither out of Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho the Jew, though contrary to his meaning; for it appeared that the Jews of that time gave not leave to drink warmed drink on the Sabbath, by his words there, μηδέ ὅτι θερμον πίνομεν έν τοις σάββασιν δεινον ήγεισθεh; which notwithstanding, they are ancient enough for this purpose, and in themselves remarkable; if first we observe that the Eastern Christians of ancient time observed the Sabbath in some measure for Divine service, as well as the Lord's day, from whence came afterwards the difference about fasting on the Saturday'.

Coteler.

h Cap. xxix. p. 127. ed. Ben.
The Eastern Church fasts on Wednesday and Friday, observing the Saturday as a festival. Albaspinæus de veter. Eccles. rit. lib. i. obs. 13. p. 93. Paris, 1696, considers that the Western Church had once the same

Ep. Interp. cap. 9. p. 59. ed. rule, and that when the Roman Church began to fast on Saturday, the Wed-nesday fast was neglected. The council of Elvira, A.D. 305, introduced the Roman observance into Spain. The British Church seems to have kept the Eastern rule longer, for marriages were forbidden on Wednesdays, excerpt. D. Egbert. Arch. Ebor. 108. A.D. 750 .-

the day afore, nor drinking lukewarm drinks, and walking by measure, and taking pleasure in dancing and senseless noises."

CHAP. For immediately upon these words it followeth, καὶ μετὰ τὸ σαββατίσαι, ἐορταζέτω πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακὴν, "and after he hath kept the Sabbath, let every lover of Christ keep the Lord's day festival." Thus, then, saith the supposed Ignatius: "Let every one of you keep the Sabbath spiritually, taking pleasure in meditation of the law, not in bodily rest, admiring the workmanship of God, not eating meat dressed

§ 7. St. Augustine in Joan. Tract. iii. L—Observa diem Sabbati, magis nobis præcipitur, quia spiritaliter observandum præ-16 cipitur. Judæi enim serviliter observant diem Sabbati, ad luxuriam, ad ebrietatem. Quantò meliùs fæminæ eorum lanam facerent, quam illo die in Menianis saltarent? "Keep the Sabbath, is commanded us more, because it is commanded us spiritually to be observed. For the Jews keep the Sabbath day slavishly, for luxury, for drunkenness; how much better had their women spin wool on that day, than dance in the porticoes!" And in Psalm xci.1: Ecce et hodiernus dies Sabbati est: hunc, in præsenti tempore, otio quodam corporaliter languido, et fluxo, et luxurioso, observant Judæi: vacant enim ad nugas, et cum Deus præceperit Sabbatum, illi, in his quæ Deus prohibet, exercent Sabbatum. Vacatio nostra à malis operibus, vacatio illorum à bonis operibus est : meliùs est enim arare quam saltare. Illi ab opere bono vacant, ab opere nugatorio non vacant. "Behold this is also a day of Sabbath, which the Jews at this present keep with a kind of bodily, languishing, dissolute, and luxurious ease: for they are at leisure for toys. And whereas God commandeth to keep the Sabbath, they spend the Sabbath in that which God forbiddeth. Our being at leisure is from bad works, theirs from good works; for it is better to plough

§ 8. He that readeth this and the like that might be produced hath cause to marvel that the practice of that people should 17 be so wide of the profession of their doctors: but that there

than to dance. They are at leisure from doing good, from

Wilkins, Concil. tom. i. p. 107. In the year 1078, a council at Rome under Gregory VII. enjoins the Saturday fast anew, and from the words of the canon salubriter admonenus, it seems that great

trifling business they are not at leisure."

neglect had prevailed, and that it was considered difficult to restore the rule.

Labbei, tom. xii. col. 621. ed. Venet.

^k Tom. iii. p. ii. col. 311. ed. Ben. ¹ Tom. iv. coll. 981, 982. ed. Ben.

is great cause to think, -whereas bodily rest is expressly CHAP. commanded, the spiritual and moral employment of it but intimated in the commandment, and by the learned collected from thence, and from other Scriptures, by consequence of discourse,—that the people apprehended that more, which was open, as being for their ease, neglecting that which was collected, as not so pleasant. And therefore unless we be wilful in refusing the truth, it cannot be denied that the dispensation of that time prevaileth in this, as well as in other particulars. For though no man doubteth that the ancient people of God were led by the promises of the kingdom of heaven, and life everlasting; yet are those promises, in the law of Moses, conveyed and recommended to them under the figure of paradise, of the land of promise, and the fruits of it. Mihi in evangelio promittuntur regna cœlorum, quæ instrumentum vetus omnino non nominat, saith St. Jerome, Epist. 129. "To me is the kingdom of heaven promised in the Gospel, which the Old Testament doth not so much as name." S. Augustine cont. Faustum, xix. 31.1 Testimoniis vitæ æternæ et resurrectionis mortuorum abundat illa Scriptura, sed hoc nomen, id est, 18 Regnum cœlorum, de nullo indè loco mihi occurrit, hoc enim propriè pertinet ad revelationem Novi Testamenti. "The old Scriptures are full of testimonies of life everlasting, and the resurrection of the dead; but the name of the kingdom of heaven I meet with in no place of it, for it properly belongeth to the revealing of the New Testament. Againo, Mortem innuit secundam, cum diceret 'Adam, ubi es?' sed de ea nihil dixisse credendum est, propter dispensationem Novi Testamenti, ubi mors secunda apertissimè declaratur: "God intimateth the second death," saith he, "when He saith, 'Adam, where art thou?' but it is to be thought that He expressed nothing of it, because of the dispensation of the New Testament, where the second death is most manifestly declared." Others might be produced to the same purpose.

THORNDIKE.

discedente; propterea de morte secunda nihil dixisse credendus est, quia occultam esse voluit propter dispensationem Testamenti Novi ubi secunda mors apertissime declaratur. — De Civitat. Dei, lib. xiii. cap. 23. col. 343. tom. vii. ed. Ben.

MA Ad Dardanum, tom. ii. col. 609.

Tom. viii. col. 332. ed. Ben. Cum vero Deus, et dicendo Adam ubi es? mortem significaverit animæ, quæ facta est illo deserente et dicendo, Terra es et in terram ibis mortem significaverit corporis, quæ illi fit anima

§ 9. The reason is the same in the matter of sacrifices—for — II. which we know what particular order is taken in the law of Moses—and yet are not the prophets afraid to say that God gave no command for them. Psalm xl. 6, "Sacrifice and offering Thou didst not desire:" Jerem. vii. 22, "I spake not to your fathers, nor commanded them, in the day when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices." And all this according to the tenor of the law, which commanded a ceremonial service, as the figure of that worship which God requireth in spirit and truth. Thus standeth the matter in our present business: for if the Sab-19 bath be a figure,—as the Scripture declareth, and the Jews themselves acknowledge,—then the observation of it commanded must needs be figurative. Which is no more than the Apostle proveth in the fourth to the Hebrews, that the rest which they observed the Sabbath with, was the figure of that rest which remaineth to the people of God. Therefore it pleased God, in this point also, to observe that dispensation of the Old Testament which He had set on foot in other particulars: taking order at large, that the Sabbath should be celebrated with bodily rest, but that service of God in spirit and truth, which is proper to the dispensation of the New Testament, as it is greatest in esteem, so is it least in appearance of the commandment which God gave for the purpose.

Places of such as-semblies

§ 10. To the same purpose, as hitherto it hath been observed, that the law hath specified no particular work of the moral service of God, with which it commandeth the Sabbath to be sanctified, or for which it appointeth assemblies: so must we further observe in this place, that it neither provideth for places, wherein it might be exercised by the body of that people, nor taketh order by whom it should be ministered in such places, but hath left us to collect by circumstance and the traces of their ancient practice remembered in the Scrip-20 tures, that it was administered by the prophets, as prophets, rather than by the priests and Levites, as priests and Levites. as well in synagogues as in the temple, or at the tabernacle. The command of assemblies, Levit. xxiii., might well be prescribed in the law of Moses, with a particular effect, in respect of that time that the whole congregation of that people lived together in the wilderness of Arabia. Then and there it is

easy to conceive how they were assembled to celebrate those CHAP. solemnities, that is, at the tabernacle, or round about it, which the Jews call the camp of Levi. But when they were settled in the land of promise, we see what the law requireth: Deut. xvi. 16, "Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which He shall choose." This is the extent of the law, thrice a year to resort to the tabernacle, and that none but males; and therefore the question will remain, how the body of that people assembled themselves through the year-it being a thing manifest that the greatest part could not resort to the tabernacle, -and those houses of prayer which afterwards were called synagogues, whereof Philo speaketh in the words alleged, not yet erected through the country, as shall appear by the dark traces of the 21 beginning of them, which we shall find by and by in the Scriptures, during the time of Solomon's temple. So that the words of Philo and Josephus alleged before, wherein they tell us that Moses commanded that people to assemble every seventh day, to learn the law, that it was their custom so to do, and that the chief taught at those assemblies, and the rest learned to live according to that which was taught, must be understood with these limitations, that it was collected from the letter of the law of Moses, and preserved in the practice of that people, at such times and places as afforded means of religious assemblies for such purpose. In fine, it will appear that the law of Moses, according to the dispensation of that time, intended to be most express in the figurative ceremonial service peculiar to that people, by the minis-

§ 11. And yet, so little provision as we find in the law for the Thepricets office of prophets, and children of the prophets, that is, their teach the disciples, these were the men nevertheless that ministered the law by demoral service of God, of prayers, and the praises of God, and troversies the exposition of the law, at their religious assemblies; a thing that may sound strange to them that find the charge of teaching the law laid upon the priests and Levites from the 22 beginning, in divers passages of it. But if we view those passages at a near distance, it will appear that they speak not of 'teaching' the law at any religious assemblies for such

tries of priests and Levites, so particularly appointed in it for

that kind of service.

CHAP. purpose, but of deciding cases emergent, or giving judgment -in causes arising upon it. Deut. xxiv. 8, "Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you: as I commanded them, so shall ye observe to do." In Leviticus there is much provided concerning the priests proceeding in judging leprosies, but that the people should stand to their judgment provision is not made. Here is declared that in those cases they did not resort to the priests as to physicians, to follow their sentence so far as their own respect should advise, but that their sentence, called here 'teaching,' had the force of binding them to stand to it. 2 Chron. xvii. 7, Josaphat in the third year of his reign sent his princes "to teach in the cities of Judah, and with them he sent Levites and priests." R. Solomon Jarchi there: כי על הכוהנים ונו, "For it lay upon the priests and Levites to teach and instruct, as it is written, Deut. xxiv. 8, 'According to all that the priests and Levites shall teach.' And the princes went with them, that none might disobey them, and to constrain them to hear them, and observe to do according to the command of the judges, like that Deut. xvi. 18, 'Judges and officers shalt 23 thou make thee: 'judges to judge the people, and officers to constrain them to do the command of the judges p."

§ 12. This teaching then consisted in declaring the obligation of the law by the judges of it, the priests and Levites, and the princes were officers with power to enforce the execution of it. Mal. ii. 7, "The priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and the law they should require at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts." In the Chaldee of Jonathanq, ארי משמש הו ונו, "because he ministereth before the Lord of Hosts." From which translation some of the Jews expound this reason thus: "You shall have recourse to the priest to determine matters doubtful in the law, for, standing to minister before the Lord in the temple, he is always ready for such purposes." R. Isaac Abarbinel upon Deut. xvii. 9. But however this prove, if we consider what followeth there, ver. 9, "You have been partial in the law," we shall find the gloss of David Kimchi to be most true,

PR. Salom. Jarchi. Comm. Latine versus a Joh. Friderico Breithaupto. Printed in Bibl. Polyglott. Walton.

אחם נושאים ונו You accept the persons of great men in mat- CHAP. ter of the law, which saith, Levit. xxii. 22, 'Ye shall not offer these unto the Lord:' and when they bring an offering with a stain, you are afraid to reprove them, and tell them, this offering is not allowable." So that the intent of this text 24 also pointeth at the deciding of difficulties emergent about the law of Moses. Levit. x. 9, where the priests are forbidden to drink wine, during the time of their service, there followeth a further reason, ver. 10, 11, "And that you may put difference between holy and unholy, and between unclean and clean: and that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses." To resolve where the law took hold or not in particular cases of that nature, is "to divide between unholy and holy, between clean and unclean:" therefore we have cause to think that the general which followeth, of 'teaching' all statutes, is commanded to the same purpose, in matters of other nature. And that of Deut. xxxiii. 10, "They shall teach Jacob Thy statutes, and Israel Thy law," Abarbinel expoundeth to the same effect. For he observeth that it goeth before thus, "Who saith unto his father and to his mother, I have not seen him; neither doth he acknowledge his brethren, nor know his own children:" as the reason of that which followeth, "They shall teach Jacob Thy statutes, and Israel Thy law." Because they take no notice of their dearest relations in judgment, therefore "they shall teach Jacob Thy statutes, and Israel Thy law," by deciding the controversies of it. And all this because the original word הזרה is proper to signify instruction by way of precept, from whence the law 25 is called חורה, and the declaration of the obligation or not obligation of it is, in the language of their doctors, called הוראה. Neither is it material, though some of these Scriptures be otherwise understood. For my purpose is not to say that the people was not taught at all by the priests and Levites at religious assemblies, but not as such. It is for divers reasons to be believed, that the most part of prophets, and disciples of prophets, were priests and Levites. They were free from the care of estates and inheritances: they were the men that came nearest to God by their office in His ceremonial service, which an extraordinary degree of the

CHAP. knowledge and fear of God best suited with: but it is as certain that the charge of teaching the people belonged as well to the prophets that were not priests and Levites.

The chair of Moses.

§ 13. "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair," saith our Lord in the Gospel; which is very well expounded in the words of Philo alleged afore; for he telleth us that it was the custom, from the time of Moses, for the chief to teach, and the people to learn to live as he taught. Then the chair of Moses is the chair of doctrine as well as of judgment, and Moses the chief of doctors as well as of judges. But it is well known what the Lord said unto Moses, Numb. xi. 16, 17, "Gather unto Me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be elders of 26 the people, and officers over them, and I will take of the spirit that is upon thee, and put it upon them." These that were known to be elders of Israel in their several tribes, or their officers in Egypt, as we read, Exod. iv. 29, v. 19, are chosen to receive their share of Moses' spirit: whereupon it followeth, ver. 25, "And it came to pass that when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied and ceased not." The Jews' doctors seem to apprehend the nature of the gift which these men received, not amiss. Moses Maimoni in More Nebochim. ii. 45. Abarbinel upon the place. They tell us that the meanest degree of God's Spirit was that whereby men found themselves moved and enabled to those works of wisdom and courage which otherwise they thought not themselves fit to undertake, with assurance that all was from above. This is the grace, say they, which the Judges received, when it is said, "The Spirit of God invested Gideon," or "came upon Sampson," for example. The second is, when men are moved to speak of things belonging to the knowledge of God, and His praises, beyond their natural or habituated capacities, without seeing any figures, asleep or awake, but with assurance that it was from God. And this they make to be the grace of them which writ those parts of Scripture 27 which the Jews call επισι, ecclesiastical writers ἀγιόγραφα, that is, "written by the Holy Ghost," which nevertheless in a large sense are called Prophets: and in these two degrees, they say, consisted the condition of Saul, that was endued

Page 316 of the Latin version of Buxtorf, Basil, 1629.

with the Holy Ghost, to enable him for government, so as CHAP. sometimes he arrived at the rank of a prophet. And thus these elders received of the spirit of Moses, for the government of the people with him, in such measure, that they attained also to be prophets.

§ 14. It is the constant tradition of that people that the The chair knowledge of the law was delivered by Moses, and this con-phets. sistory of elders, to succeeding ages. Which if it go no further, is no more than reason for us to believe, though they have built all the fooleries of their unwritten law upon it. If Moses were the chief of doctors, those of Moses' bench must needs in their degree be the like. The Lord promiseth to His people a successor to Moses in this grace, Deut. xviii. 15, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren like unto me, him shall you hears:" which the New Testament verifieth in our Lord Christ, Acts vii. 37, and elsewhere. But if this promise be partly verified for the time, in those prophets which God raised up from 28 age to age after Moses, for further knowledge of the law which He gave, -as the promise of a Saviour, was, for the time, in part verified in their judges and kings, by whom God delivered His people from their enemies, as some will have it,-then is the charge of hearing those prophets but the relative of their charge in teaching the people. In the time of Samuel we read of certain colleges of prophets, and disciples of prophets, such as was that 1 Sam. x. 5, where Saul and his servant met a company of prophets; and such as was that 1 Sam. xix. 18-20, at Naioth in Ramah, where David abode with Samuel: and where Saul's messenger saw the "company of prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them." This Naioth in Ramah is here translated by Jonathan the Chaldee paraphrast, בית אולפנא ברטתא, "the house of learning in Ramah:" and Samuel stood over them "as their master to teach them," as he rendereth it. It is the place where Samuel was born and dwelt, called in the beginning of that book, Ramathaim Zophim, in the Greek 'Αρμαθαΐμ, and is the same with Joseph's town of Arimathæa in the Gospel. By the word it should seem it was compounded of two towns, in the one whereof was

^{*} The words are cited rather from Acts vii. 37, than from Deuteronomy.

CHAP. Naioth, the residence of those that studied the law there under Samuel: whereupon Jonathan translateth it there, "Ramah of the disciples of the prophets."

High places to what pur-

§ 15. It is here very much to be observed that they were 29 forbidden by the lawt "to offer sacrifice but before the ark, in the place which the Lord shall choose." Nevertheless, while this choice of God stood suspended, and while the house at Shiloh was desolate,—from the time that the ark was taken by the Philistines, till it was settled again at Jerusalem,high places were licensed as the Jews speak, that is, it was lawful to offer sacrifices where the ark was not u. Such are these whereof we now speak, 1 Sam. ix. 12, x. 5, where Jonathan translateth it בית אסחרותא, "the house of feasting," because having offered their peace-offerings, the use was, to feast upon the remains of them, as you find it there. In fine, the people assembling to such places to offer their sacrifices, and to celebrate their solemnities, and the prophets having their residence there, what doubt can be made but that all this must be for the purpose of preaching to the people, as they assembled there, or ministering what else may appear to belong to their office.

Beginning gogues.

§ 16. And this is well apprehended by men of learning to be the beginning of synagogues and schools among that people. For when the ark was settled, and it was become unlawful to offer sacrifices in the high places, to assemble for public prayers, and the praises of God, and learning the law, was no inconvenience.

§ 17. The like is to be said of those abodes of prophets, 30 at Bethel, and Jericho, 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, the like whereof were in other cities, saith D. Kimchi upon that place: and that in 2 Kings vi. 1, where we may observe Elisha to be master, as Samuel in that of Naioth afore. The like we may conceive of that, 2 Kings xxii. 14, where Huldah the prophetess is said to dwell, במשנה, which Jonathan translateth as afore, "the house of learning," our English, "the college." R. David Kimchi there, "Our doctors of blessed memory say that three prophesied in the days of Josiah, Jeremiah in the streets or villages, Zephaniah in the synagogues, and

^t Deuteron. xii. 5-15. one Priesthood and one Altar, chap.

See Dodwell's Discourse of the iii. sect. 3-6.

31 § 18. In fine, if there be any express remembrance of synagogues, under Solomon's temple, in the Scripture, I suppose it must be that, Psalm lxxiv. 8, "They have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land," and afore, ver. 4, "Thine enemies roar in the midst of Thy congregations," which is more than can be understood of the temple alone, or the several buildings of it. Only the doubt is, to what time the meaning of this Psalm is to be related, and when it might be penned, because Junius hath been bold to refer it to Antiochus Epiphanes' time *. But the constant tradition of the Jews seemeth to have obtained the credit of historical truth that the Scripture was signed in Ezra's time: and the end of Malachi-whom the Jews will have to be Ezraseemeth to speak no less, iv. 4, 5, sounding like the passage from the Old to the New Testament: reflecting upon the Old, when he biddeth them "remember the law of Moses," and pointing at the New, when he promiseth the "sending of Elias before the day of the Lord came." Besides, it is against the truth of history, that the temple was destroyed in Antiochus Epiphanes' time, which not only this Psalm, but divers of the same title import, lxxix. 1, "O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance, Thine holy temple

rissima tyrannide pressit, et omnem cultum Dei nefarie prophanavit.—Comment, in Psalm 74. ed. Junii et Tremellii, p. 139. Genev. 1617.

^{*} p. 12 of the Latin version of F. Breithaupt. Gothæ, 1713.

^{*} Videtur autem hanc oden Ecclesia Deo cecinisse, quo tempore Antiochus Epiphanes populum Dei du-

CHAP, have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones." Upon the title of this Psalm, which is, "A Psalm of Asaph," the Chaldee descanteth thus: "A song, by the hands of 32 Asaph, upon the desolation of the sanctuary, by the spirit of prophecy he said, lxxx. 13, 'The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it."

§ 19. Therefore I observe much, what we read after the seventy-second Psalm; "Here end the prayers of David the son of Jesse:" and yet you shall find not a few under David's name afterwards. Which seemeth to argue the first to have been a several collection of David's Psalms by themselves: besides which nevertheless were found others of his, which with the rest, belonging to other names, as Moses, Asaph. Heman, and others, make up the collection that followeth. The case is not much unlike in the book of Proverbs. Two titles of Solomon's Proverbs, chap. i. and x., argue two several collections. Chap. xxv. there beginneth a third collection of them, with this title, "These are also Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." But that this collection lasteth to the end of the book, meeting with a title so disputable, chap. xxx., who shall assure us? Since then after the seventy-second Psalm, where we read, "Here end the prayers of David son of Jesse," there follow a considerable number under the name of Asaph, why should we doubt him to be [the] writer of them, more than David of his? or that he, that was a prophet, as shall be said, foresaw in them the destruction of Jerusalem 33 by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans? If there can yet be question who penned the Psalm, it is quite extinguished by the text of 2 Chron. xxix. 30, where Hezekiah commandeth the Levites to praise God "in the words of David and Asaph:" and therefore the Scripture speaketh of synagogues during Solomon's temple: but with such obscure remembrance, that it cannot be thought they could afford the body of that people means to assemble for the service of God.

Disciples of pro-phets studied to be prophets.

§ 20. One doubt there is yet behind, as concerning this grace: to what purpose the disciples of the prophets studied for that grace which was only in the power of the Holy Ghost to bestow, being far from us to believe, as some Mahometan philosophers are said to do, that it is to be

compassed with human endeavours: which if they aimed CHA not towards that purpose, why then are they called sons, that is, disciples, of the prophets, as the Chaldee of Jonathan always translateth it? why do we see, that for the most part, in Scripture, those persons that were brought up to it, were indued with the grace? It was in the power of God, no doubt, to bestow it where He pleased: nevertheless, so it was found, that for the most part He did bestow it, where men's manners were suitable, where men's courses were 34 applied to it:-to say nothing here of those dispositions of nature and fortune which the Hebrew doctors require. This is to be seen in the place alleged, 1 Sam. x. 11. And the proverb that did rise upon Saul's prophesying, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" For had it not been unusual that persons never bred to any such course, should be invested with the Spirit on the sudden, it had not been so great a marvel as to cause and occasion the proverb: on the other side, to shew how it cometh to pass, it followeth there, "And one of the same place answered and said, But who is their father?" to say, that seeing these children of the prophets, that is, disciples, had God to their father, to teach them by His Spirit, it was no marvel to see a man grown a prophet without help of other masters. Which is the case that Amos expresseth, vii. 14, 15, "I was no prophet, nor prophet's son, but an herdsman, and gatherer of sycamore fruit. And the Lord took me, as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto My people Israel."

§ 21. Now the study that disposed men to this grace was, without doubt, that of the law of Moses: in that all conversed, and spent their time, that pretended; though some attained the gift of God's grace, others stayed at that knowledge which by human endeavours they could compass: where35 upon that which is called in the places of Samuel aforesaid "a company of prophets," is by Jonathan translated in the Chaldee "ספרים, "a pack of scribes." A difference remarkable in that translation, which it maketh in rendering the word "prophets:" for when he conceiveth the speech is of such as had the grace, he translateth it "כביאים, "prophets:" when he extendeth it to those that did but pretend, he teeth it divers times, "scribes" and "doctors." Jer. xxvi

CHAP. "Then said the princes and all the people unto the priests, and to the prophets:" Jon. לספריא, "to the scribes." Jer. xxix. 1, "These are the words of the letter that Jeremiah the prophet sent from Jerusalem unto the priests, and to the prophets:" Jon. לספריא, "to the scribes." And again, ver. 15, "Because ye have said the Lord hath raised us up prophets in Babylon:" Jon. מלפים, "doctors." When the Scripture speaketh plainly of false prophets, then he is wont to add in translating, "'false' prophets." This we shall see to be the beginning of those that are called "scribes" in the Gospel, which among the Jews are called "wise men" otherwise, when the grace of prophecy had ceased among that people.

> § 22. And to this purpose it is worth the noting which R. Moses Maimoni, among others of their doctors, delivereth of Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah, in More Nebochim ii. 32, that his complaint, specified Jer. xlv. 3, "Wo is me now, for the Lord hath added grief to my sorrow, I fainted in 36 my mourning, and find no rest," was upon this occasion, that having run his best course, under Jeremy, for the purpose, the Lord in the end refused him the grace of a prophet. which he aimed at. For sure the answer the Lord giveth is very suitable: as it followeth, "Behold, that which I have built will I pull down, and that which I have planted will I pluck up, even this whole land, and seekest thou great things for thyself?" To say, that in the time of public wrath, it was more fit for him to seek deliverance than eminence; which is his reward, as it followeth, "Behold, I will bring evil upon all flesh, saith the Lord, but thy life will I give unto thee for a prey, in all places whither thou goest." Now it is to be observed, that the original word, which we translate "prophesying," is of so large a meaning, that it containeth whatsoever that grace enableth, or that office requireth a man to do. For, how is it said, Ecclus. xlviii. 13, that Elizeus's body "prophesied," because of the miracle wrought by his bones after his death, but because it was always expected at prophets' hands to do miracles? as our Lord is called "a prophet mighty in word and deed," Luke xxiv. 19. It is then no marvel that prophets should be inspired by the Holy Ghost to set forth the praises of God, or that their ministry should be required in that work. 1 Sam. x. 10, we read of 37

Saul and his servant; 1 Sam. xix. 20, we read of his messen- CHAP. gers, thus; "And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the Spirit of the Lord was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied." In the Greek, that which is in the Hebrew להקת הגביאים, or in the other place — חבל הנביאים, "a band of prophets," or "a congregation of prophets," is rendered χορὸς προφητών, and פֿאראקסום, and prophesying is by Jonathan turned משבחי, that is, "praising or singing:" they found them singing the praises of God, under Samuel, master of the choir, and they, when it came to their turn, sung that which they were inspired with: as the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 26, "When you come together, every one of you hath a psalm." Thus Exod. xv. 20, "Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her with timbrels and dances, and she answered them saying:" in the Greek it is καὶ ἐξῆρχεν αὐτῶν, "she led them the song, which she had composed," as being a prophetess: or she sung that which Moses had composed by the Holy Ghost afore; for her beginning is, "Sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously, the horse and his rider hath He cast into the sea:" which is that of Moses. Again we read, 38 1 Chron. xxv. 1, "Moreover, David and the captains of the host, separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Iduthun, who should prophesy, with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals;" and ver. 5, "All these were the sons of Heman, the king's seer, in the words of God, to lift up the horn." In the first place, the Greek hath it anoφθεγγόμενους, "speaking," that is, "the praise of God;" in the other, οί ἀνακρουόμενοι τῷ Κυρίφ, "that struck up to the Lord "." § 23. But there must be a reason why the praises of God are

called "prophesying," and "seers," that send them forth. And what is that but this, because the Spirit of God indited psalms to the heads mentioned here, with whom the rest joined in singing them to the Lord? R. David Kimchi there, הזי בני אסף ונו, "the sons of Asaph played upon instruments, and sang, and the Holy Spirit rested upon Asaph, and he sung with his

γ τῷ ἀνακρουομένφ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν λό-γοις Θεοῦ ὑψῶσαι κέρας: in the Eng-words of God, to lift up the hon

CHAP, voice to the noise of the harps. So Heman and Iduthun were all prophets with instruments of song: for the book of Psalms was written by the Holy Ghost, and there are in it prophecies of the captivity and deliverance." Here you see that Asaph and the rest were prophets inspired by the Holy Ghost, so that it can be no marvel to find prophecies under their name in the Psalms, as was said: besides, their children also and scholars are said to "prophesy" in singing the praises of God which they were inspired with. A thing to be observed towards that which shall follow.

They mithe moral God in gogues.

§ 24. Further, that prophets instructed people in the law, at their assemblies for that purpose, in the temple or elsewhere, there is enough to argue out of Scripture. Abenezra high places and upon Exod. xx. 8, ומנהג ונו, "And it was the fashion of the Israelites, close upon the Sabbath, to go unto the prophets: as it is said, 2 Kings iv. 23, 'Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither new moon nor sabbath." R. Levi ben Gerson upon that place, נראה כי ונו, "It seemeth that in those days they used to go before the great (wise) men, and they instructed them in the way they should go, and the things they should do." Neither is this exposition the apprehension of these later doctors: Menasseh ben Israel, the now Rabbi at Amsterdam, hath quoted it to us from the Talmudists: Gem. Succoth, cap. 2. Concil. in Exod. quæst. 35.2 To the same purpose belongeth that of the Talmudists alleged from David Kimchi, that Jeremiah prophesied in the villages, Zephaniah in the synagogues, and Huldah amongst the women. The same D. Kimchi upon 2 Kings ii. 3, telleth us that the reason and purpose of those colleges of prophets there remembered, was to reprove the Israelites through those cities. In Psalm lxxiii. 16, 17, "When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me; until I went into the sanctuary of God; then 40 understood I their end." Abenezra there, ומעם מקרשי אל ונו "and the meaning of the sanctuary of God is, because there were the priests of account, and the wise men of Israel, and they revealed this secret." And Eccles. v. 1, "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God, and be more ready to hear, than to give the sacrifice of fools: for they consider not

² Menasseh Ben Israel, Conciliator, turæ, quæ pugnare inter se videntur. sive de convenientia locorum S. Scripp. 149. Amstelodam. 1633.

that they do evil." The Chaldee paraphrase thus descanteth upon these words, אנח בר נשא ונו, "Thou son of man, keep thy feet when thou goest into the sanctuary of God to pray, that thou goest not thither full of sins before thou dost repent; and apply thine ear to receive instruction of the law from the priests and wise men: and be not as fools that offer sacrifice upon their sins, and repent not of their evil works, that stick in their hands, and it is not accepted; neither know they how to do good or evil about them."

§ 25. Here you have the meaning of these Scriptures expressed, by conjecture, taken from the practice of after times better known: but "wise men" joined here with priests, are they which Jonathan called "scribes" afore, as shall be said, and such priests they were that did this office. It is to be believed that it was no less the office of prophets to conceive prayers in behalf of the congregation at their assemblies, though we find no such express conjecture in Scriptures of 41 the Old Testament. When people resorted to the prophets, when they taught them the law, as was said, shall we believe they had not public prayers at those assemblies? or shall we believe that it was not ministered by the prophet to whom they resorted? especially seeing that it appeareth many ways, that it was the office of prophets to pray for the necessities of the people, as men most familiar with God, and so most like to prevail. And the prophets of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. 26, "called upon the name of Baal from morning till noon," which in ver. 29 is thus said: "And it came to pass when mid-day was past, and they prophesied till the offering of the evening sacrifice." Here their prayers to their God are called "prophesying," as a part of the prophet's office, which Elias doth afterwards. And Samuel, 1 Sam. xii. 23, "As for me, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and the right way." Joining together the parts of his office, teaching and praying. Last, the king of Israel, 2 Kings vi. 31, "God do so and more also to me, if the head of Elisha the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day:" as he whose office it was to remove the wrath of God by his prayers, and did not. If these consequences seem not to speak home to the ministering of the service of God by prayer at their religious

CHAP. assemblies, compare that which hath been said with that 42

Which followeth, concerning the prophets of the New Testament, and the things that have been said will no doubt appear unquestionable.

CHAPTER III.

THE PROFESSION OF SCRIBES, THAT SUCCEEDED THE PROPHETS. WISE MEN OF THE JEWS WERE THE LEARNED SORT OF SCRIBES. SCRIBES OF ALL THE THERE SECTS. THEY TAUGHT IN SYNAGOGUES. WHO WERE LAWYERS. WHO SAT IN THEIR COURTS. AND OF THEIR DISCIPLES. THE MANNER OF THEIR SITTING IN SCHOOLS AND SYNAGOGUES. HOW THEY SAT IN FEASTING. OF THE ELDERS OF SYNAGOGUES. WHO AMONG THEM RECEIVED IMPOSITION OF HANDS.

The profession of scribes, that succeeded the prophets.

That the chief, if not the only knowledge, to which men of learning were bred among the people of God from the beginning, was that of the law, and afterwards of the other Scriptures, the name of "scribes" is evidence enough: whose profession Epiphanius thus describeth; Οί τινες ήσαν δευτερωταὶ τοῦ νόμου, ώς γραμματικήν τινα ἐπιστήμην ὑφηγούμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα πράττοντες τῶν Ἰουδαίων . "These," saith he, "were men that repeated the law, teaching a kind of grammatical knowledge: in other things practising the fashions of the Jews." And Abarbinel in the words alleged afore b, hath expressed three particulars concerning the law, wherein the 43 Jews were instructed upon the Sabbaths: עם פירושיה ודקדוקיה The first concerneth no more than the very words, and the ordinary reading of them, as it was delivered, and as the people received it: and by this continual hearing the law, the people came to be so cunning in it, as Josephus professeth, in the place afore named c: Ἡμῶν δ' ὁντινοῦν εἴ τις έροιτο τοὺς νόμους, ράον αν είποι πάντα, η τούνομα τὸ έαυτοῦ. τουγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς αἰσθήσεως αὐτοὺς ἐκμανθάνοντες, έχομεν εν ταις ψυχαις ώσπερ εγκεχαραγμένους. "But if a man ask any of us concerning the laws, he will tell every thing readier than his own name: for learning them straight as soon as we come to knowledge, we keep them im-

^{*} Lib. i. contra Scribas, p. 32. ed. b Chap. ii, sect. 5. Colon. c Chap. ii. sect. 4.

printed in our minds." The third thing, which he calleth בא בא הרוקיה, concerneth the grammatical niceties in reading the words of the law, the knowledge whereof Epiphanius saith the scribes did profess.

§ 2. This is the reason that it is recorded for the commendation of Esdras, Esd. vii. 6, "that he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses." As in the third book of Ezra, chap. viii. [19] for the same cause he is called αναγνώστης τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Θεοῦ, "a reader in the law of God," who is called a "scribe of the law of God" elsewhere d. And that is the reason of the language which our Lord useth to the scribe, "What is written in the law? How readest thou?" Luke x. 26. For as it is true that the vowels, which the letters must be sounded with, are not distinguished in the substance of that language, so it is most certain, that the way of reading was not at the first delivered to that people, in that method of general rules 44 which since hath been invented, but was taught and received by particular tradition, and continued by remembrance and practice. Whereupon it is evident what difference of sounds may be fastened upon the same characters of letters, if it be but from that most ancient translation of the Bible in Greek, commonly ascribed to seventy elders of Israel. The substance whereof still remaining-whatsoever alterations may have been made-is sufficient to shew how much difference there was between the reading which they followed, and that which we now use e. And by consequence, how much it concerned the true meaning of the law to have learned the true reading of it, which the Jews, whose reading we follow, pretend to have received from Esdras, and the men of learning in his time, whom they call "the men of the grand synagogue." But the endless niceties and curious observances wherewith the reading, which we now deservedly use, is delivered unto us, is sufficient to demonstrate that which I was saying afore, that from the beginning, the certain manner of reading was delivered by particular observance, and in time 45 became reduced unto that general method which now we use with such unspeakable speed and advantage.

d 1 Esdras vii. 12, 21.

the first book of the Epilogue.

CHAP. learned scribes.

§ 3. Thus, all that made profession of book-learning among - that people are called "scribes;" though it seemeth some that of the Jews enjoyed the style went no further than writing and reading. And such as these they were that taught little children afterwards among the Jews, of whose office we find rules in Maimoni, Talmud Torah, cap. ii. And the Jewish doctors imagine that Jacob prophesied that most of these should be of the tribe of Simeon, when he said, Gen. xlix. 7, "I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel." And the Commentaries under St. Ambrose's name expound the office of those doctors of whom St. Paul speaketh, 1 Cor. xii. 28, in these words, Illos dicit doctores, qui in ecclesia literis et lectionibus retinendis pueros imbuebant, more synagogæ, quia traditio illorum ad nos transitum fecits: "He speaketh of those teachers in the Church which instructed children in reading and retaining their lessons, after the fashion of the synagogue, for their tradition hath passed over to us." How well he hath deciphered the office of doctors in the Apostle we shall see afterwards; but that which he saith of the fashion of teaching children to read, and say over lessons of the Scripture, which the Church learned from the synagogue, is that business of less learned scribes whereof we speak. For 46 there was a further degree of knowledge, consisting in the exposition of the law, which is the third particular remaining, expressed in Abarbinel's words, in the second place; and those which came to this pitch, as they were still scribes, which is the name common to all men of learning among that people, so they were counted "wise men" besides, in regard of the knowledge of the law they professed, which was the wisdom of that people, according to Deut. iv. 6.

> § 4. Thus you shall find scribes and wise men joined together in the New Testament: Matt. xxiii. 34, "Behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes:" and 1 Cor. i. 20, "Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world?" And for this cause it is that the disciples of the prophets are translated "scribes" in Jonathan, as was said aforeh: and the same are the "wise men" which

ed. Ben.

h Chap. ii. sect. 21. De doctrina Legis. Latine vers. a Rob. Clavering, pp. 7, 8, 9. Oxon. 1705.

S. Ambr. Opp., tom. ii. col. 153.

taught the law of God in the temple: which we also read of CHAP. Ezra the scribe, vii. 10, "For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." Whether they were priests and Levites, or whether they were others, that were bred from their youth to the knowledge of the law and Scriptures, these 47 were the men, and no other but these, that were indifferently assumed to sit in all courts of judgment of that people, and to teach in their schools and synagogues. You heard afore i some slight remembrance of places of learning, where companies of prophets had their residence,-some suspicion of synagogues, where that people assembled, not for that ceremonial worship which was confined to the temple, but for the moral and spiritual service of God, according to the light of that time, during the time of Solomon's temple. But after the return from Babylon, schools and synagogues, for certain, were multiplied all over the country, and the effect of it was, without doubt, of unspeakable benefit.

§ 5. Men of learning have thought it strange, and inquired [No idolawhat the reason might be, that this people, before their cap- the captitivity, when they had the prophets to teach and admonish vity.] them, still from time to time should fall away from God to the worship of idols: whereas after their return, though there were no more prophets, nor miracles wrought, nevertheless they continued constant in the service of one God, however the service and knowledge of Him were corrupted. To my understanding this one reason goeth far in giving account of it; because where assemblies were held,-where the law was read and taught,-where the service of God was exercised, that is, 48 where there were synagogues, there was the most powerful means to hold them constant to that which they professed.

§ 6. But on the other side, we see what a great evil sprung scribamong them instead of it, diversities of opinions, sects and threes divisions, among them which held all constant to one law, whereof the learned professed the knowledge. The chief whereof were those of the Sadducees and Pharisees which the Gospel remembereth; and which are remembered here, to shew that they took not upon them the teaching of the law, but as they were scribes, as well as Pharisees or Sadducees:

1 Chap. ii. sectt. 17, 18.

which they were bred, the name of "Pharisees" and "Sadducees," the sect and manner of life they professed, according to the opinions those orders maintained. So that as nothing hindereth him that hath professed some monastical order to proceed in the degrees of the schools, no more inconvenience is it to take the same men both for scribes, and also for Pharisees and Sadducees. "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair," saith our Lord, Matt. xxiii. 2. The difference is made because many were scribes that were not Pharisees, as also many Pharisees that were no scribes: as in those words which Sigonius hath produced out of the life of James son of Zebedee, Josias unus è Scribis Pharisæorum, 49 misit funem in collum Apostoli: "Josias a scribe, one of the Pharisees, put a rope upon the Apostle's neck."

They taught in synagogues.

§ 7. Gamaliel, of whom we read in the Scripture for St. Paul's master, is called there a "Pharisee;" and that he was a scribe for his learning there can be no doubt. And when it is said, Acts xxiii. 9. "The scribes that were of the Pharisees' part," it is plain that there were also scribes of the Sadducees: which seem to have carried more credit after our Lord's death, under another High Priest, than when He was alive. For when it is said, Acts v. 17, "Then the High Priest rose up, and all that were with him, which is the sect of the Sadducees, and were filled with indignation," it may be observed that afore, iv. 1, we read thus, "And as they spake unto the people, the priests and captain of the temple, and the Sadducees came upon them;" which same faction is thus specified, ver. 5, 6, "And it came to pass on the morrow that their rulers and elders, and scribes were gathered together at Jerusalem;" out of which as it is to be presumed that the faction of the Sadducees, cherished by the High Priest, had then the stroke,—whereupon the Apostles, preaching then the resurrection of our Lord, found some advantage in Gamaliel, and St. Paul afterwards in the Pharisees,—so there is necessity to think the same were scribes and Sadducees both which 50 dealt in these matters. And for the third sect of the Essenes.

misit Josias, id enim ei nomen erat.—Mombritii Acta Sanctorum, fol. 20. eol. 2da. tom. ii. Mediolan. ante 1480.

J Carol. Sigon. de Republ. Hebræorum, lib. v. cap. 10. Tunc ille Scriba Pharisæorum qui funem ei in collum

there is no doubt but the learned of them also were counted in CHAP. the number of the scribes; seeing we know that they taught the law in their own synagogues, as shall be said.

§ 8. But of those that are called in the Gospel "lawyers," Who were there is question among men of learning what might be the difference between them and scribes, whose profession was the law of Moses, and the exposition of it. For when our Lord saith unto them, Luke xi. 46, "Wo unto you also lawyers," having said the like afore to the scribes, it is plain that He might speak to scribes and not to lawyers; and yet the profession of scribes being the law of Moses, and the exposition of it, it is strange there should be lawyers which were no scribes. And therefore my resolution must be, that they cease not to be scribes which are called lawyers, but as they own that style for their profession of learning, so is the other due for the privilege they have in it: which seemeth to have been among them, whatsoever was then conferred by imposition of hands, which made them rabbies or doctors of the law that had it: Maimoni, in Sanedrin. cap. iv. num. 2.k And therefore when Gamaliel, Acts v. 34, is called νομοδιδάσκαλος, it is the same with νομικός or διδάσκαλος, or rabbi alone.

- 51 For hereupon you shall observe the words that he useth, Luke xx. 45, "Then answered one of the lawyers and said unto Him, Master, in thus saying Thou reproachest us also:" to shew that they were still of a better rank than the rest, and should take it worse to be found fault with; which is here verified by the privilege which they, of all other scribes, were invested with.
 - § 9. For to shew in how great esteem was this profession Who sat among that people, be it here observed that no man was courts, capable, at least of sitting in their courts of judgment, but and of their disthose that were bred to this kind of knowledge. I speak not ciples. here of the free times of that commonwealth under their own laws and governors: then it is reason to think that the princes of Israel and noblest persons were placed in the grand court of seventy-one at Jerusalem, with the chief priests and prophets, or their successors, the greatest of the scribes, to assist them in the knowledge of the law. It is

^k Maimonidis de Synedriis et pœ-nis, Latine vers, ab Henric, Houting.

CHAP. observed of late 1, that Josephus maketh the middle court of twenty-three to consist but of seven, with two assistants to each of them, of the tribe of Levi, to wit, for the knowledge of the law; which came near the number of twenty-three. The description that followeth, derived from their ancient doctors, seemeth to concern the times when the freedom of the people was abated, and that great court reduced from governing the state, to judge the greatest of those matters 52 wherein they were left to their own laws. Which fitteth the present purpose nevertheless. Because from it we shall perceive the employment of their scribes, together with the fashion of their consistories, and of their synagogues in consequence, whereupon that which is to follow dependeth.

> § 10. R. Moses in Sanedrin. cap. ii. num. 1, "They place not in any sanedrin, great or little, but wise men; men abounding in knowledge of the law, men of large knowledge in other sciences:" and straight afterwards, "They place not in the sanedrin but priests and Levites, and Israelites of birth, fit to be of alliance to the priesthood, as it is said, Numb. xi. 16, 'And they shall stand there with thee:' of men like thee, in wisdom, and godliness, and birth. And it is a precept, that there be priests and Levites of the great sanedrin, as it is said, Deut. xvii. 9, 'And thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites.' But if none be found, though there be none but Israelites, it is allowable." Israelites of birth were not assumed for their birth; for the priests and Levites, that were counted among them of best birth, sat not there, unless their learning were answerable: the High Priest himself, unless he were fit, for his wisdom, had no place in the sanedrin of seventy-one in Jerusalem, as it followeth straight afterwards. Now the manner of breeding here requisite is to 53 be understood from the description of the second court of three-and-twenty, which he maketh in the first chapter there afore; num. 6, דיין הגדול ונו, "The judge that is of greatest wisdom among them is head over them; the rest sit in a round, as it were a half circle, that the head may see them all." And again, num. 7, "Before every sanedrin they

passage in Josephus is in the fourth book of the Antiquities, chap. 14. p. 163. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

¹ By Grotius in his Commentary upon St. Matth. v. 21, on the words "in danger of the judgment." The

place three ranks of disciples of wise men, three-and-twenty CHAP. in every rank: the first near the judges; the second lower than that; the third lower than the second: and in every rank they sit according to their degree in wisdom." Out of these, as need requireth, they assume the next in rank to assist in judgment, when the bench is not complete, by imposition of hands, as it followeth there, because finable causes, that belonged to this middle court, were not judged but by masters made by imposition of hands.

§ 11. But the lowest of their courts was thus: cap. i. num. 6, "In cities of less than six score families they place three judges, as in no court less than three, that it may have more and less if they chance to be divided in a cause. When there are not in a city two great wise men, one fit to teach and decide in all the law, the other that can understand and dispute," ask and answer, "they place no sanedrin in it, though it have two thousand of Israel: where there are these two, one 54 to understand, and one to speak, it is a sanedrin: where there are three, it is mean: wherefore, whereof three can speak, that is a sanedrin of wisdom:" for as you have it there three be a full court, it is commendable whensoever there are afterwards, cap. ii. num. ult, אף על פי ונו "Though a court of more, and better that a cause be decided by eleven than by ten; and it is requisite that all that sit in the court be disciples of the wise, and fitting." So, though this court, reaching but to money matters, require not imposition of hands, yet you see what qualities it requireth, in two that are necessary, and in all that may sit in it. And thus it appeareth how that is verified in particular which was generally affirmed afore, that none could come to sit in any of their courts of justice but their scribes, but their wise, but the disciples of wise, but those that were bred to the knowledge of the law.

§ 12. But it concerneth my purpose to observe further, in The manthat description of the middle court, the three ranks of disci-sitting in ples that sat beneath the judges by degrees, according to their schools and synaknowledge, because the like order took place at their religious gogues. assemblies in the synagogues, the people sitting flat on the floors. St. Ambrose upon the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30, 31, "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge; if it be revealed to another as he sitteth, le

CHAP. first hold his peace." Hac traditio synagogæ est, quam nos vult 55 sectari: ut sedentes disputent: seniores dignitate in cathedris, sequentes in subselliis, novissimi in pavimento super mattasm. "It is a tradition or custom of the synagogue which he would have us to follow; to dispute sitting: the eldest in dignity in chairs, the next upon benches, the last upon matted floors." To this purpose speak those words alleged to us from the Talmudists, Gem. Horaioth. cap. iii. 13, חר כשהנשיא ונו, "Our masters say, when the prince cometh in-that is, the head of the high court of seventy-one—all the people stand up to him, and sit not down till he bid them: when the father of the court cometh in—that is, his mate—they make him two ranks, one on this side, another on that, and sit not down till he is set: when the wise man cometh in—that is, the next, that always sat on the left hand to the prince—one standeth up, and one sitteth still. Disciples of the wise, and their children, when the people want them, step over the heads of the people, though it is an imputation for a disciple of the wise to come in last. If he go out for his necessities, he cometh in, and sitteth down in his place. Sons of disciples of the wise that are deputed pastors of the synagogue, when they have understanding to learn, come in and sit before their fathers, with their backs to the people: while they have not, they come in and sit behind their fathers, with their faces to the people. R. Eleazar, son of R. Sadoc, said, at feasts also 56 they set them each beside their fathers." Here you see how the elders sat in a round in the face of the people, sitting before them upon the floor. The manner whereof in the synagogue is thus further expressed in Maimoni, Tephillah ubircath Cohenim, cap. xi. 4: for having told us that in every synagogue, in the quarter towards which they pray, looking to the temple, they build a place, which they call therefore the "hecall," where they lay a copy of the law, and set the ark, out of which they take the book of the law which they read in the synagogue, with the back to this hecall, and the face to the people, he pursueth it thus: num. 4, "How sit the people in the synagogue? The elders sit with their faces towards the people, and their backs towards the hecall, and all the people sit rank before rank, the face of every rank toward

^m S. Ambros. Opp., tom. ii. col. 159. ed. Ben.

the back of the rank before it; so the faces of all the people are towards the sanctuary, and towards the elders, and towards the ark, and when the minister of the synagogue standeth up to prayer he standeth on the ground before the ark, with his face to the sanctuary, as the rest of the people."

§ 13. And for that which St. Ambrose saith of matted

floors, it followeth there, num. 5, "They use respect in the synagogues and schools, and sweep them, and floor them; and 57 the Israelites in Spain and the west, and in Shinar, and the land of comeliness, they use to set up lights in the synagogues, and floor them with mats, to sit upon, but in the land of Edom-the Roman empire-they sit upon seats." Thus is the meaning of that in the Psalm evii. 32, brought into their practice, when he saith, "Let them exalt Him also in the congregation of the people, and praise Him in the seat of the elders." The Chaldee: "Exalt Him in the synagogue of the people of Israel, and praise Him in the sanedrin (or seat) of wise men." R. Sol. Jarchi there, נצרוך ונו, "And it is requisite to confess Him before ten, whereof two are the strength of our masters:" that is, such two as were requisite afore to make a sanedrin according to R. Moses. For their rule is, that those whom this Psalm mentioneth give public thanks, that is, in a synagogue, that is of ten, where there are two "wise men," which therefore are counted a sanedrin, of which they expound the words of the Psalm, vii. 32, "the seat of the elders." True it is, you shall find divers sayings of the Hebrew doctors wherein the disciples of the wise are described sitting on the floor at the feet of their masters, and not upon seats of a lower rank; and so was St. Paul, Acts xxii. 3, "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel." But that, it should seem, is to be understood of masters sitting alone among their scholars, by that which we read of it in Mai-58 moni, Talmud Torah, cap. iv. num. 3, כיצד מלמדין ונו, "How do they teach? the master sitteth in the head, and the scholars in a round afore him like a crown, that they may all see the master, and hear his words. The master sitteth not in a chair, and his disciples on the floor, but all on the floor or in chairs. Formerly the masters sat and the scholars stood, but before the destruction of the second temple all practised it, their disciples and themselves sitting." Though in St. I

CHAP. there is something particular, if we believe that which AbenIII. ezra relateth out of the Talmudists, upon Nehem. viii. 5,
where we read, "And Ezra opened the book in the sight of
all the people—for he was above all the people—and when he
opened it, all the people stood up." "It may be," saith he,
"they stood up in their place. So say our masters of blessed
memory, from the days of Moses to our master Gamaliel they
learned standing." Good reason St. Paul should remember
the feet of Gamaliel, and good reason we should think his
scholars sat at his feet, if he were the first that brought up
the custom—which Maimoni saith was received before the
temple was destroyed—for scholars to sit when their masters
read and discoursed: which I leave to the masters of the
Talmud to be verified.

§ 14. In the mean time, the fashion of these assemblies, and the very posture of those that sat there to teach, maketh that very clear which our Lord saith in the Gospel, Matt. 59 xxiii. 2, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair." And the same are the seats whereof our Lord speaketh there, ver. 6, "and love the uppermost rooms at feasts," πρωτοκλιolar, because they eat leaning, "and the chief seats in synagogues," πρωτοκαθεδρίας, because they taught sitting in chairs, as St. Ambrose said afore. For which purpose you have seen hitherto that the doctors sat with their faces to the people, that they might be ready to stand up when the law was read, and from thence take the occasion and argument of their speech to the people. Therefore saith the Apostle, Acts xv. 21, "For Moses hath of old time in every city them that preach him; being read in the synagogues every Sabbath." And Acts xiii. 14-16, "Paul and Barnabas went into the synagogue at Antiochia in Pisidia on the Sabbath, and sat down: and after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation to the people, say on. Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand, said." In like sort our Saviour, in the synagogue at Nazareth, Luke iv. 16-20, having read the lesson of Esaiah the prophet, proceedeth to expound it. And certain it is that our Lord and His disciples were admitted and invited to teach in the synagogue, upon no other respect but the opi60 nion which the world had of their wisdom and knowledge of CHAP. the Scripture, for which, they going so far beyond those that professed it, no marvel if they were received for doctors of it n. And Philoo of the Essenes, lib. Omnem probum liberum esse; Είς ίερους άφικνούμενοι τόπους οί καλούνται Συναγωγαί, καθ ήλικίας εν τάξεσιν ύπο πρεσβυτέροις νέοι καθέζονται, μετά κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος, ἔχοντες ἀκροατικῶς. εἰθ' ὁ μὲν τὰς βίβλους άναγινώσκει λαβών, έτερος δὲ τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων, ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα, παρελθών ἀναγινώσκει. "Coming to their holy places called synagogues, they sit down in ranks, according to years, the young under the elders, with fit decorum, disposed to hear: then one taketh the book and readeth, another of the best practised cometh afterwards, and recogniseth that which was least understood:" that is, expoundeth it. And it should seem by the name the Jews give their sermons, that the custom was, for many of these doctors that sat in the head of synagogues to speak to the same purpose, inquiring the truth of the Scripture. For as they call the school בית המדרש, so they call preaching in the synagogue דרשנים, preachers both for the reason, of inquiring at these meetings the meaning of the Scriptures. For which reason St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 20, Ilou σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεύς; ποῦ συζητητής τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου; calling the same persons "wise men" first, then "scribes," and last of all, "inquirers of this world;" that is, Jewish 61 doctors, that were still inquiring among themselves the truth of the Scriptures at their meetings, and yet believed not; that seemeth to be the true meaning of the words. As our Saviour, Luke ii. 46, was found "in the temple sitting in the midst of the doctors, hearing them, and asking them questions," which was the school where they disputed.

§ 15. But this posture of sitting, in the court, in the school, How they in the synagogue, in judgment, in learning, in their service of sat in God, will be still better understood if we observe that it was the fashion of that people to sit at meat no otherwise; as did also the Greeks and Romans after them, eat lying, and leaning on the elbow, in a half round, which they call "sigma," from the ancient figure of that letter, which was thus, C.

^{*} See Hammond's Annot. St. Matt. o Philon. Jud. Opp. Omn., p. s-ix. 35. p. 50.

CHAP. This is called in the Bible in the Chaldee it is translated אסחרותא, signifying the company that were met, for the reason of sitting in compass. Of which the words of the Talmud alleged out of Horaioth, cap. 3, are to be understood, where, having said that the sons of disciples of the wise, before they be capable of learning, sit at their fathers' backs, in the round whereof we spoke, it followeth, "R. Eleazar son of R. Sadoc said, in feasts also they set them beside their fathers;" that is, behind their places in the round aforesaid. And of old time it may be observed, that the middle place, in this fashion of sitting, was most honour-62 able among that people, by that of king Saul, 1 Sam. xx. 25, "And the king sat upon his seat as at other times, even upon a seat by the wall." Sol. Jarchi, בראש המטה אצל הקיר, "in the head of the couch next the wall." Supposing them to sit in a round or half circle, as was always the fashion to do, we must needs imagine that the back or middle of this half circle must be toward the wall for all convenience. And thereupon, by the way, we have cause to think that there is no mistake in the vulgar way of representing the last Supper of our Lord; which the learned Jesuit Sirmondus, Annot. in Sidon, 1 Epist. ii. thinketh the painters make, when they set our Lord in the midst at table. Whereas the right order he conceiveth to be that which he observed in the mosaical work at Capua—done by the Abbot of Cassino, that was afterward Victor II. Pope-where our Lord sitteth in the dexter point of the couch, St. John leaning his head in His bosom, who by that means might easily perceive St. Peter beckon to him, as he sat in the sinister point of it, as chief of the disciples q. And indeed he hath reason to say, that among the

Capuæ opus, a Desiderio Cas nensi Abbate, qui Victor II. postea fuit, de-dicatum. Quæ quidem si ad veram imaginem expressa sunt haud difficile fuerit intelligere, cur aut Joannes, qui per ætatem fortasse ultimus erat, Christo proximus in ejus sinu accubuerit, aut Petrus qui remotior innuisse Joanni dicatur, ut Christum de proditore interrogaret.—Sirmond. Opp. var., tom. i. col. 872. Paris, 1696. See also two letters of his to Suarez on this subject, in vol. iv. coll. 665-669.

P IDD. Vid. Gesenii Lexic. Maj.

p. 933.

4 Honoratissimus ergo stibadii locus, cornu dextrum, ut diximus, proximus sinistrum. Sed admonet nos stibadii mentio et ordo accumbentium, ut de Christi quoque Domini suprema Cœna disquiramus..... Recubuisse autem in ea Christum, non in medio stipantibus latera hinc inde Apostolis, ut nostri vulgo pictores repræsentant, sed dextro in cornu . . . tum alià in libris tabulisque antiquis monimenta ostendunt, tum musivum

Romans the dexter point was most honourable, the sinister CHAP. next to it: but among the Hebrews, as hath been said, it was -63 the middle, where St. John leaning in our Lord's bosom, might easily enough perceive St. Peter beckon as he sat in the point.

§ 16. But in the words alleged out of Maimoni, we must of the elnow observe the condition of these elders of the synagogue nagogues. which he said sat in the head of the assembly, with their faces to the people. It is the title of those chief of the tribes that had authority over the people in Egypt, out of whom were chosen the seventy assistants to Moses in the grand consistory, as was said . It is in the Gospel the title of those in whom, together with the chief priests and scribes, the authority over that people rested, so far as they were suffered to use their own laws, the grand court of seventy being at that time either dissolved, or removed from Jerusalem, and abated, as the Talmudists, agreeing with Josephus, relate: for he telleth us that they were put to death by Herod, Antiq. xv. 1.* They tell us that they removed from Jerusalem forty years before the destruction of the temple, that is, a little before our Lord's death, because they would not be used as a stale to give sentence of death beside their own judgment; the force of their sentence consisting in their residence at Jerusalem, as they will have it, [Gem. cod. Talmud.] Aboda zara, cap. i., which it is probable is to be understood when they began to recover themselves of the blow received under 64 Herod. Correspondently therefore, in the synagogues of

their dispersion, under this name we must understand those by whose authority the common businesses of the congregation were transacted, so far as they had leave to use their own law among the nations; which it seemeth are therefore called, Acts xiii. 15, "rulers of the synagogue;" and were sometimes men of learning, scribes, wise men, rabbies, otherwhiles not.

§ 17. That their doctors in this respect were called "elders," I will use no other proof but that which is ordered in their law concerning him that they call a "rebellious elder," of whom Maimoni in Mamrim, cap. vii. n. 1, "A rebellious

p. 626, ed. Hudson, 1720.

^{*} Chap. ii. sect. 13.

* Vid. Vorstii Dissert. de Synedriis

* p. 661. See also book xiv. cap. 8.

Hebr. cap. xlii. ap. Ugolin. Thes. Antiq. Sacr., tom. xxv. p. 1146.

CHAP. elder is not liable to death, till he be a wise man that hath attained to be fit to decide, next to a sanedrin." And in Talmud Torah, cap. vii. 1, a wise man, that is, an elder excellent in wisdom, is one of those that must not be excommunicated in public.

> § 18. On the other side, that some of these elders in synagogues were not rabbies, it shall appear by the description which the same rabbi maketh of their order, in holding the fast of seven days, whereof he writeth in Taanioth, cap. iv. 2, ואחר כך וגון," "After that they put up among them an elder that is a wise man, themselves sitting: if there be no elder that is a wise man, they put up a wise man; if neither, they set up such an one as will serve, and he speaketh words 65 of humiliation, כפי ברתן, according to his ability, till he humble their hearts, and they repent with perfect repentance." By which it appeareth, that elders in their synagogues, whose place R. Moses described us, in the head of the people, were some of the profession of learning, some not. These are the elders of the synagogues remembered of Epiphanius, Har. xxx. n. 11,x and in divers constitutions of the emperors, mentioning all public persons in synagoguesy. In particular we are to observe here, that some of these elders were wont to be deputed to make provision for the poor of the syna-Which some think are the men that are called Patres Synagogarum, in the constitution of Constantine the Great, L. iv. Cod. Theod. de Jud. et Cælicolis'. Of these, those words of the Talmud alleged out of Horaioth, cap. iii. are to be understood: "The sons of disciples of the wise, that are deputed pastors of the synagogue." For it is for no other cause but this that they are called סרנסים, or

[&]quot; Tract. de jejun. Hebr. Latine vers. a Jo. Ben. Carpzov., pp. 24, 25. Lipsiæ, 1662.

τ... ἀρχισυναγώγων, καὶ ἰερέων, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ ᾿Αζαυτῶν, τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς διακόνων ἐρμηνευομένων, ἤ ὑπηρετῶν.— Contr. Ebion., p. 135. ed. Colon.

Judæis et majoribus eorum et Patriarchis volumus intimari.-Leg. 1.

Qui devotione tota Synagogis Ju-desorum Patriarchis vel Presbyteris se dederunt.-Leg. 2.

Judæorum querelæ reclamantibus legis suæ Primatibus.-Leg. 8. .. præter vos Proceres que vestros.

__Leg. 10. Also LL. 11, 13, 14, 15.-xvi. Cod. Theodos. Tit. viii.

Hiereos, et Archisynagogos, et Patres Synagogarum, et certeros qui Synagogis deserviunt, ab omni corporali munere liberos esse præcipimus.-Theodos. Tit. viii. l. 4. tom. vi. p. 222. ed. Gothofred. Lugdun. 1665.

"pastors," as well at this day, as of old time a. Leo Modena, CHAP. the now rabbi at Venice, calleth those deputies that provide for the poor, in his own language, Memunnim, and Parnassim, in his little Italian tract, "Of the Rites and Customs of the Hebrews," p. i. c. xiv.b And in divers places of R. Benjamin's Itinerary we read of divers rabbies, whom he 66 calleth Parnassim, for this cause, not because they were preachers to the synagogue. Those that had that faculty, and undertook that charge, both he and others call Darshanim. To let us understand that all their rabbies preached not in the synagogues-for rabbies they are all that have that style-but those alone that had the talent of it, as the same Leo Modena writeth of them, p. ii. c. iii. 2.d For the Jews are no flinchers from old customs.

§ 19. We are to observe further here, what elders were Who made by imposition of hands. Maimoni in Sanedrin, cap. iv., them וביצר ונו, "And how is imposition of hands done? not that received imposithey stay their hands upon the head of the elder, but that tion of hands. they call him 'rabbi,' and say to him, Behold, thou art ordained, and hast licence to judge even finable causes. And they give not this imposition of hands, which is the ordination of elders to be judges, but by three." So that of the Misna Sanedrin, c. i. n. 2, "ordination of elders is done by three," may well be understood of such elders as are ordained judges in finable causes, because the name of elders is common to judges and other elders. True it is, there be other purposes reckoned by Maimoni (in the place aforesaid) afterwards, to which they might be ordained. But all of them concern controversies of the law, which their ordination licenseth 67 them to decide. And seeing it is said that ordination is made by styling the person ordained, "rabbi," it seemeth it belonged to none but doctors. Indeed, in the Itinerary aforesaid, we read, that in his days, about the year of our

them (the poor) something home to their houses every week."—Owen's Translation, p. 57. London, 1707. Linerarium D. Benjaminis, cum

St. Luke xii. 42.—See Vitringa de Synagoga Vetere, lib. iii. p. 1. cap. 2. p. 621. Francquerre, 1691. b "Besides, the Parnassim or Me-munnim—whose office it is to look after

" "Who then is that faithful and

wise steward, whom his lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them

their portion of meat in due season?"

such things (alms)-take care to send

versione et notis, Constantini L'Empereur ab Oppyck. Lugd. Batav. 1633.

d "These, that is, the Cacam Ray, or Morenu, [Master or Doctor,] decide controversies and preach if they have any talent that way."—p. 77.

that great resort, were appointed by him, whom they called "head of the exile," at Bagdad, and came thither to him to get imposition of hands, p. 73 and 74. But according to the ancient custom of that people, those that were promoted rabbies by imposition of hands, were made only in the land of Israel, that is, in all that they possessed when they came out of Egypt. "Insomuch that unless he that promoted, and he that was promoted, were both in the land of promise, there was no imposition of hands: if both were within the compass of it, then might it be done by writing,

CHAP. Lord 1173, all the rabbies and deacons of synagogues of

if they were not present:" Maimoni in the same place. Therefore, if we believe that all elders of synagogues and deacons—called among them חונים, in Epiphanius, 'A ζανῖται' were made by imposition of hands, then must it be said that

Maimoni, and others according to him, speak of no imposition of hands but that which made rabbies, because of the

eminence of such persons.

§ 20. Last of all, it is to be observed here, that in these colleges or benches of elders, whereof my speech is, that governed great and populous synagogues, there was also one 68 head, the chief in learning and authority, called in the Gospel, in the life of the Emperor Alexander Severus, and in divers constitutions of the emperorsh, "the ruler of the synagogue," or "archisynagogue." And as it hath been proved elsewhere that the Bishop and presbyters of Christian Churches are many times comprised in the common style of presbyters, προεστώτες, præpositi, antistites, præsidentes, and the like, so it seemeth that both the archisynagogue and elders are signified under the same title, "rulers of the synagogue, at Antiochia in Pisidia," Acts xiii. 15. And so was Jairus "one of the rulers of the synagogue," Mark v. 22.

[•] De Synedr. et pœnis. p. 23. ed.

Houting.

Epiphan, Hæres, xxx, contr. Ebion,
Colon, see Prim. cap. xxi. p. 135. ed. Colon. see Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 16.

lacessiverant eum convitiolis, syrum

Archisynagogum eum vocantes et Archierea. Hist. Aug. Scriptores vi. tom. i. p. 930. Lugd. Batav. 1671.

avi. Cod. Theodos. Tit. viii. ll. 4,

^{13, 14.}Primitive Government of Churches,

chap. vii. sect. 4-6.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESBYTERIES OF CHURCHES, WITH THEIR BISHOPS, ANSWERABLE TO THE JEWS' CONSISTORIES, MADE WITH IMPOSITION OF HANDS. THEY SAT IN THE CHURCH AS THE OTHER IN THE SYNAGOGUE: THAT ARGUETH THEIR OFFICE OF GOVERNING THE CHURCH. AND THE DIFFERENCE OF THEM FROM THE PEOPLE. THE ELDERS OF THE PEOPLE IN THE AFRICAN CHURCHES WERE NOT OF THIS BANK. WHAT IS THE DOUBLE HONOUR OF PRESBYTERS IN ST. PAUL. THE APOSTLE'S RULE IN DISCERNING SPIRITUAL GRACES. THE PROCEEDING AND EXTENT OF HIS DISCOURSE. HIS CATALOGUE OF GRACES AND MINISTRIES. HOW DIVERS OF THEM MAY MEET IN THE SAME MAN. DOCTORS ARE THOSE OF THE PRESBYTERS THAT PREACHED. HELPS WERE DEACONS.

WHEN the Gospel of Christ was to be published to the CHAP. world, the nation of the Jews was now dispersed far and ; wide, and their synagogues and assemblies settled in the most teries of eminent places of the Roman empire, as the Acts of the with their Apostles alone are enough to inform us. God's singular Bishops, answerprovidence having procured their profession, and the writings able to that contain it, thus to come to the knowledge of the Gentiles, consistoto make way for the Gospel which drew near. Now the ries, made Apostles being themselves Jews by birth, and pretending to position of hands. call those congregations which they converted to the faith, whether from Jews or Gentiles, to a condition correspondent to that of the Jews in their banishment, that is, as the Apostle alludeth, 1 Pet. ii. 11, to live "strangers and pilgrims" from that Jerusalem which is above, as they were from Jerusalem upon earth, it is no marvel if the state of them which they ordained bear a great deal of correspondence with the synagogue.

§ 2. The chief point of which correspondence consisteth in those presbyteries upon which, as hath been proved elsewhere k, they estated the government of those Churches which 70 they converted to the faith. It is no marvel that the Apostles ordained these presbyteries of Churches with imposition of hands, though it be more than I can affirm of those presbyteries of synagogues1. It was from the beginning a sensible

THORNDIKE.

¹ Vid. Morin. de Sacris Ordinationik Prim. Govern. of Churches, chap. iii. 2. bus. Part. iii. Exercit, vii. cap. iv

CHAP. sign of God's hand stretched out to bestow the grace of the Holy Ghost, which was pretended to be procured by the benediction of him that gave itm. Such graces of the Holy Ghost, the Apostles professed to go along with the truth which they preached, to convince all nations of it. And we see how it pleased God to make good what they professed, by that abundance of spiritual graces mentioned by the Apostle. Whereas the Jews may seem to have confined those graces to the land of promise, out of their opinion of that kingdom which they promise themselves there. In regard of this imposition of hands, the presbyteries of Churches may well be compared with those consistories of the Jews, which were so ordained, as well for deciding matters of judgment as for teaching the law, at such time as those same consistories were among them, as well schools of learning as courts of judicature. Those consistories, with their presidents, whereof you heard afore out of Moses Maimoni, answering these presbyteries, and the heads of them called Bishops, which came over them, as hath been shewed, in 71 succession to the Apostles". Otherwise, setting aside imposition of hands, the very pattern of these presbyteries in Christian Churches, is to be seen in those presbyteries of great and populous synagogues under their rulers, or archisynagogues, whereof hath been said o.

They sat in the Church as the other in the synagogue.

§ 3. To make this correspondence further to appear, that which hath been discoursed, of the manner in which these consistories or elders sat in the school or synagogue, shall now be declared to have held in the Church, for the sitting of the Bishop and his presbyters. The words of Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes. P, are hitherto ill read in our copies, by which means the true sense is diverted: I mean these wherein he saluteth them, Μετά τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ύμων, καὶ ἀξιονίκου καὶ πνευματικοῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ Πρεσβυτέρου ύμων, καὶ των κατά Θεὸν διακόνων ч. "With your reverend Bishop, and the victorious spiritual Stephen their presbyter, and their deacons"-or ministers-" according to

m See Primitive Government, chap.

Prim. Govern., chap. viii. sect. 5. ° Chap. iii. sect. 20.

P Cap. xiii. p. 62. ed. Coteler. η 'Αξιοπλόκου, ed. Coteler; ἀξιονίκου, ed. Vedel. Genev. 1623.

God," which directeth this salutation to one Stephen a pres- CHAP. byter there: but in that old translation of these epistles remembered elsewherer, these words are rendered thus: Cum digne decentissimo Episcopo vestro, et digne complexá spirituali coronâ Presbyterii vestri, et eorum qui secundum Deum diaconorum. Whereby it appeareth that he that made that transla-72 tion read, Πνευματικού στεφάνου τού πρεσβυτερίου ύμων :: that is, "the spiritual crown of their presbytery;" because sitting in a half round, in the head place of the Church, they very well resembled the fashion of a crown, and are therefore called in the constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 28, t Της ἐκκλησίας στέφανος, "The crown of the Church." There order is taken, that the presbyters, at the feasts of love then practised, shall receive a double share to that of the widows, in these words, Τοις δέ πρεσβυτέροις, ώς αν κάμνωσι περί τον της διδασκαλίας λόγον, διπλή καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀφοριζέσθω ή μοῖρα, εἰς χάριν τών τοῦ Κυρίου ἀποστόλων, ὧν καὶ τὸν τόπον φυλάσσουσιν, ώς σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στέφανος. "As for the presbyters, that they may take pains about the word of doctrine, let there be a double part set aside for them also, for the Apostles of our Lord's sake, whose place they possess, as counsellors to the Bishop, and the crown of the Church." We are not to conceive that it must needs be a full round that is called a crown: that constellation of stars that is so called, wanteth a great deal of a circle. I suppose, because we must allow room to tie it behind the head, to avoid Tertullian's" objection, that the hinder parts of the head smell not. If then the Bishop and presbyters sat in that figure of a half round, which we saw practised in the Jews' consistories, and that in the head of the congregation, it is for no other reason that they are called the "crown of 73 the Church."

§ 4. Now, this fashion of their sitting is thus described in the same book, ii. 57: Κείσθω δὲ μέσος ὁ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος, παρ' εκάτερα δε αὐτοῦ καθεζέσθω το πρεσβυτέριον, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι παριστάσθωσαν εύσταλεῖς τῆς πλείονος ἐσθῆτος, ἐοίκασι γὰρ ναύταις καὶ τοιχάρχοις προνοία δὲ τούτων εἰς τὸ ἔτερον μέρος οἱ λαϊ-

Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 15.
 So published by Vossius in 1646.
 Ap. Labbei. SS. Concil., tom. i. ed.
 Venet.
 De Corona Militis, ca
 Ap. Labbei. SS. Concil., tom. i. ed.
 Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

u De Corona Militis, cap. v. p. 290.

CHAP. noi made teoburar, perà mary provias nai estatias nai ai yuναίκες, κεγωρισμένως και αυται καθεζέσθωσαν, σιωπήν άγουσαι. μέσος δ' ο άναγνώστης εφ' ύψηλοῦ τινος έστως άναγινωσκέτω . . . "Let the Bishop's chair stand in the midst, and let the presbytery sit on both sides of him, and the deacons stand by, lightened of too much apparel, for they are in the ship of the Church, like mariners, and rulers of sides; by their direction let the people sit on the other side, with all quietness and good order; and let the women also sit apart, keeping silence: then let the reader stand on high, and read." It is plain that he setteth here the Bishop's chair in the midst of the upper end of the Church, because he called them afore "the crown of the Church," and because, if the deacons order the sides, then is the Bishop master at the stern. In the mean time, he sitting in the midst, and the presbyters on both hands, the deacons must needs be conceived to stand beside them, behind the compass of that round in which they sat. And thus sitting they are said, in the Constitutions, as you had it even now, to possess the place of our Lord's Apostles. And in Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes.*: Προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων. 74 "The Bishop sitting highest in place of God," that is, of Christ, "and the presbyters in place of the bench of Apostles." And Gregory Nazianzen setting down the dream, wherein he saw himself sitting as he was wont to do in the Church, describeth himself sitting in the midst, and the presbyters in chairs on this hand and on thaty: to shew in what posture there they sat.

§ 5. This will be all still more clear if we compare it with the pusture of the clergy at celebrating the Eucharist, described in the same Constitutions, and in him that calleth himself Vicus views the Arcopagite, Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 3.2 'O uèv λεριμχης εν μέσφ τοῦ θείου θυσιαστηρίου καθίσταται, περιεγιώνι δε μόνοι, μετά των ίερέων, οί των λειτουργών εκκριτοι.

· (αμ. (L μ. 57. ed. Coteler. · Διο νω δυκέτσκου δπέρθρουσε, οὐχ (this is a significant of the second of the Angert epieden besteid-

Οί δ' ἄρ' ύποδρηστήρες ἐν εξμασι παμφανόωσιν Έστασαν, άγγελικῆς εἰκόνες άγ-Aatns. S. Gregor. Theologi Opp. tom. ii. p. 844. ed. Ben. * Tom. i. p. 284. ed. Corder. Ant-verpiæ, 1633.

"The Bishop standeth at the midst of the Divine Altar, and CHAP. only the chief of the deacons stand about him with the priests." Constit. Apost. viii. 12. more in particular; Kal οί πρεσβύτεροι εκ δεξιών αὐτοῦ καὶ εξ εὐωνύμων στηκέτωσαν, ώς αν μαθηταί παρεστώτες διδασκάλω, δύο δε διάκονοι εξ έκατέρων των μερων του θυσιαστηρίου, κατεχέτωσαν έξ υμένων λεπτών ριπίδιον", ή πτερών ταώνος, ή οθόνης, και ήρέμα άποσοβείτωσαν τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἱπταμένων ζώων, ὅπως αν μὴ έγχρίμπτωνται είς τὰ κύπελλα. "And let the presbyters stand on his right hand and on his left, like scholars that stand beside their master; and let two deacons on either side the Altar, hold fans of thin skins, or peacock's feathers, or linen, to drive away the little creatures that fly about, that 75 they light not in the cups." The posture of the presbyters on each hand [of] the Bishop, and of the two deacons, at the points of the communion-table, describeth that round whereof we speak, in which the Bishop and presbyters sat with their faces to the people-ready to rise and speak to them when time required-ready to celebrate the eucharist in the like posture behind the communion-table; which therefore seemeth to have been the most ancient custom of the Church, as, out of Jewell against Harding, is noted in the last chapter of the Holy Tableb, and is like to have been the original reason of all that is observed there of compassing the Altar in the Greek Liturgies.

§ 6. This is that which Tertullian calleth Ordinem et Conses- That argusum Ecclesia, Ignatius d, συνέδριον, " the order, or the bench of eth their the Church," consisting of the Bishop and his presbyters, in governallusion and correspondence to the commonalties of the Roman Church. empire, governed by their annual magistrates, and a bench of their counsellors, called Ordo Reipublicæe, "the order or the bench of such commonalties." The consideration hereof is very forcible to convince common sense of the succession of Bishops from the Apostles, as the heads of these presbyteries,

^{*} The ρεπίδιον mentioned in the Greek Liturgies is called in the Latin Church flabellum, and muscarium. The Benedictines in the Voyage Litteraire, tom. i. p. i. p. 231, describe one they saw at Tournus.

^b The Holy Table, Name and Thing; a work of John Williams, Bishop of

Lincoln, published A.D. 1637.

^c Prim. Govern., chap. ix. scct. 9.

^d Ad Magnes. cap. vi. p. 18. ad Trall. cap. iii. p. 23. ad Phil. cap. vii. p. 33. ed.

e See the notes of Justellus on the African Canons, p. 437. Ordines Civi-

CHAP. granting that which men of learning cannot refuse for historical truth. It is found in Tertullian's words, de Præscript. Hæret. cap. xxxvi. Age jam, qui voles curiositatem meliùs exercere 76 in negotio salutis tuæ, percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsident, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ litteræ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. "Thou that shalt have a mind to exercise thy curiosity better, in the business of thy salvation, go to now, run over the Apostolic Churches, in which the very chairs of the Apostles govern in their places, in which their authentic writings are read, sounding the voice and representing the visage of each." He that should have denied the books kept and used by those Churches to have been the authentics of the Apostles, would have been thought to disadvantage the faith. What shall we imagine of him that denieth the very chairs, wherein the Apostles sat in the head of those Churches, to be possessed by their successors as was pretended there, from whence Tertullian argueth? For when he saith that they sounded their voice and represented their visage, doth he not affirm that their epistles written to those Churches preached in their absence, as themselves did out of those chairs in presence? I have shewed out of the Scriptures, that the Apostles exercised the government in chief, of those Churches which they had planted presbyteries to govern, as occasion required. The chairs whereof Tertullian speaketh, 77 were the seats of that government, as well as doctrine, when they were there.

[Companions of the

§ 7. The Apostles had divers companions which were both their disciples in the doctrine, and their coadjutors in the governed Churches, work of the Gospel. Of these St. Paul speaketh, Phil. iv. 3, "with Clement also, and the rest of my work-fellows." These, or some of these-which sometimes gave personal attendance upon the Apostles, not moving in their office but at their disposing-became afterwards settled by them upon particular Churches, which they found they could not attend so well themselves, for the government of those which were converted, and the conversion of those which were not. Thus were Timotheus and Titus placed over the Churches of Asia and Crete, just upon the time when he made account to see them

See Primitive Government of Churches, chap. iii.

no more. Thus was Mark attendant on Peter at writing his CHAP. first epistle, v. 13, who was afterward, as all agree, seated by him at Alexandria, and did the office of an evangelist there. Clemens and Linus, companions of the Apostles, all antiquity agreeth, were placed by them over the Church at Rome, though in what rank and condition, it agreeth not. The words of Theodoret are remarkable, where he answereth the question, why St. Paul wrote epistles to Timotheus and Titus, none to Silas or the rest of his fellows: Καὶ φαμέν, ὅτι τούτοις 78 ην ήδη εκκλησίας εγκεχειρικώς, τούς δε άλλους έτι είχε μεθ έαυτοῦς. "And we say," saith he, "that he had already put Churches in the hands of these, the rest he had with him." What meaneth the Apostle's instructions concerning the perpetual government of those Churches, if they had nothing to do but to plant presbyteries there, and away? St. Paul sendeth for Timotheus to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 9, as for Titus to Nicopolis, iii. 12, who was also with him at Rome, and went thence to Dalmatia, 2 Tim. iv. 10. But did he mean that his instructions should be void thenceforth, or be practised at Ephesus, and in Crete afterwards? We cannot discredit antiquity that maketh them Bishops there, without offering violence to the tenor of the Scriptures that enforceth it. But how is Titus counted Bishop of a Church, that is instructed to plant presbyteries through the cities of Crete, i. 5, all under his own government and oversight; or how is Timotheus Bishop of one Church of Ephesus, that is instructed to govern, as well as to plant all the presbyteries whereof the Apostle writeth, for all those presbyteries import episcopal Churches? No otherwise than the Apostle had his chair in all the Churches of his planting, according to Tertullian h.

§ 8. The Apostles could not settle all things in the intended [Bit form at the beginning. So far there is no fault in Epiphanius' call rowers. Not because they knew not what to do, but for reasons best known to themselves; because perhaps they might find it more to the purpose, to put into the hands of their own disciples those Churches on which depended the planting and government of many more, than to set men untried over the

F Œcumen. Comm. in 1 Ep. ad Tim., Argument. p. 206. ed. Paris, 1631. h See Prim. Govern., chap. iii. sect. 4.

Heres. 75 contr. Acrium. cap. 5. See Primitive Government, chap. ivsect. 11.

CHAP. presbyteries of particular Churches. Is St. Mark, Bishop of Alexandria, the less, because he preached the Gospel through the country under it,-because he planted the government of Churches, perhaps under his own oversight for the time? Or what inconvenience is it, that St. James, an Apostle, should be deputed by consent of the Apostles, to exercise that office in the parts of Palestine and Arabia, always with resort to his residence at the Mother-Church of Jerusalem? or that he should therefore be counted Bishop of it? In due time, even during the age of the Apostles, several Churches had their several Bishops, as appeareth by the Angels of the seven Churches of Asia, which from the beginning were in the compass of Timothy's charge. At first all presbyters were Angels of Churches, according to the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 10. "For this cause ought a woman to have power upon her head, because of the Angels." That seemeth the most natural meaning of his words, for Tertullian in divers places of his book, De Velandis Virginibusk, intimateth one reason of vailing so women's faces in the Church, from the scandal of their countenances. When Bishops came over them, no marvel if they alone were called the Angels of those Churches, for it is acknowledged, that all presbyters are called Bishops under the Apostles. But when several heads were set over several Churches, then heads of presbyteries were only Bishops thenceforth.

[And succeeded the Churches for the Churches of those Angels, rather than believe that epistles concerning those Churches were fit to be addressed to their Bishops, might have corrected their mistake out of the Scripture, that saith, Rev. i. 20, "The seven stars are the Angels of the seven Churches, and the seven candlesticks are the seven Churches." St. Ambrose, or whosoever writ those Commentaries, upon 1 Cor. xii. 28,11 saith two things: first, the Apostles spoken of there are

k Capp. iii, vii. ix. xiv.

1 "Angel in those epistles is put
collectively not individually, as appears
by the epistle to Thyatira . . . by Angel is meant not one singular person, but the whole company of presbyters.... the very name Angel is sufficient to prove that it is not meant of one person alone the epistles themselves are dedicated to all the Angels and minis-

ters in every Church, and to the Churches themselves not to be understood as meant of one individual person, but of the whole company of ministers, and also of the whole Church, because that the punishment threatened is to the whole Church."— Smeetymnuus, sect. xiii.

m S. Ambros. Opp., tom. ii. col. 153. ed. Ben.

Bishops; to wit, in the then state of the Church: then, hav- CHAP. ing compared the Apostles with prophets, he concludeth, Et quia ab uno Deo Patre sunt omnia, singulos Episcopos singulis Ecclesiis præesse decrevit; "And because all things are from one Father, God, therefore He decreed that several Bishops should be over several Churches." In these two particulars he speaketh my whole meaning: the Apostles 81 were Bishops, but not several ones of several Churches: but as there is one God over all, so He decreed, saith he, that afterwards several Bishops should be over several Churches. In the mean time, the rights reserved to great Churches over the less, which now we see " derived with so much learning from the times of the Apostles, is the print which remaineth of that government and oversight of them, which at the first rested in those great Churches, from which they were propagated by the Apostles or by their companions. Walo Messalinusº standeth stiff upon St. Hierome's opinion, that there were no Bishops till they were appointed by the Church to extinguish the schisms of presbyteries. But Tertullian's words enforce more, that the Bishops of his time sat in those chairs which the Apostles possessed for theirs. And afore, cap. xxxii. Sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert. "As the Church at Smyrna relateth that John placed Polycarpus," or installed him; to wit, in the Bishop's chair there. He thinketh that all this importeth, that Polycarpus took place of the rest of the presbyters, and no more. But indifferent reason will require him to grant no more superiority of Bishops than the chair of the Apostles importeth. However St. Hierome reconcile his opinion with 82 his own words concerning the presbyters of Alexandria, that from St. Mark's time were wont to take one of their number and place him on a higher step, and call him Bishop of Alexandriaq: common sense will enforce the high rank in which

ⁿ See Archbishop Ussher's "Original of Bishops and Metropolitans," among the "Certain brief treatises concerning the ancient and modern government of the Church." Oxford, 1641.

tis, non honoris, presbyteros inter et Episcopos intercessisse, sed unum eundemque re et nomine fuisse Episcopum ac presbyterum.—Walon. Messalin. (Salmasius) de Episcopis et presbyteris, cap. ii. p. 131, 132. Lugdun. Batav. 1641.

[&]quot;Nos ex Hieronymo tria hæc certo tenenda et pro definitis habenda colligimus. Primum, Apostolorum ætate nullum omnino discrimen, non ordinis, non gradus, non potesta-

P De Præscript, adv. Hæret. cap. 36. See sect. 6.

⁹ Prim, Govern., chap. vi. sect. 2.

CHAP. he sat to import the superiority and eminence of his office, even during the Apostles' time.

[Offices and pres-byters.]

§ 10. The consideration of this order, or this bench of the to Bishops Church, shall give me further occasion to resume and aver two particulars of good consequence in this business. The first, the extent of the office common to the Bishop and presbyters; as for preaching and celebrating the sacraments, so for the oversight and government of the Church, in those spiritual matters wherein, as members of the Church, men communicate, expressed in all places of the Scripture wherein there is any remembrance of their charge. Surveying those passages of the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles in which the office of presbyters is remembered, we find it every where described as well by the oversight, or government, or care, or whatsoever you please to call it, of the Church in spiritual matters, as by the charge of teaching the people. Both parts ascribed to them that bear the rank and style of presbyters. Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 2; 1 Tim. iii. 2, 5; Titus i. 7, 9; 1 Thess. v. 12. True it is that the Church is of itself a mere spiritual commonwealth, not endued with any temporal 83 power to enforce, by way of constraint, the effect of those ministries which they stand trusted with. Before the temporal powers of the world were converted to the faith, they came to effect by the voluntary consent of Christians: the same good will that moved them to become such was enough to prevail with them to yield effect to those ministries which God had provided for the maintenance and propagation of it. It seemeth that the ground of the present separation is derived from hence s; that hereupon ordinations and censures

See chap. xviii. of the Epilogue,

accusing or censuring any, 'tell the Bishop,' but 'tell the Church;' and ac-cordingly in the times of the Apostles, and long after, as the epistles of Cyprian do manifest, they were judged by the word in an assembly of presbyters and brethren, as the incestuous Corinthian, which shews us that neither one man, nor the presbyters alone, were judges in such causes, but the Church, which by Scriptures, either cleared or censured any person accused, as by the word of God he appeared, either guilty or not guilty."—A Necessity of Separation, by John Canne, chap. iii. sect. i. pp. 134, 135. A.D. 1634.

[&]quot; "Be it here specially noted, that excommunication, and the absolution or reconciliation of the excommunicate, are actions common to the whole Church, and not of any private person or persons. For howsoever the elders are to administer these ordinances, yet the whole Church must give their consent freely hereto. In the Apostles' time and after, till the year 250, every man that was a member of the Church had in the Church his voice in ecclesiastical causes and determinations of the Church. Christ doth not say, when there is cause of

are to pass by voices of the congregation according to the CHAP. Scriptures. And true it is, that in the primitive Church, according to the practice of the Apostles' times, these matters passed at their religious assemblies under the sight and conscience, as St. Cyprian speaketht; that is, under the notice of the people. Ordinations were allowed by them, as not having to except against the persons: reproofs and censures were their reproofs and censures; for they reproved, and cast out those whom the ecclesiastical order sentenced to it. 2 Cor. ii. 6, "Sufficient to such an one is the rebuke by the many." The congregation must needs rebuke him whom they put from their body to give effect to the Apostle's sen-84 tence, 1 Cor. v. 4, 5. To shew us the meaning and extent of his words there, ver. 12, "For what have I to do to judge those that are without? do not ye judge those that are within?" The Apostle censureth, and the people censureth. The difference of their right and charge is in the third verse expressed in the case, "I truly have judged or determined already, that he be delivered to Satan at one of your assemblies," that is, solemnly put from the body of Christians. In regard of the faction then on foot among the presbyters, as hath been shewed elsewhere", it appeareth that the person in fault was borne out by a side of the people; especially if we believe St. Chrysostom* that he was one of the pastors.

§ 11. The Apostles were so charitable to expect the people's And the consent in ordinations and censures, that they meant not to of them betray their own right with God's cause. Judge whether he from the people. proceedeth upon voices that enchargeth them to execute his sentence, and yet he saith, "I condemn and you condemny." But how shall the government of the Church in general belong to the ecclesiastical order, if the particulars of it be in the hands of the people? 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, "Feed the flock of God, overseeing, not upon constraint, but willingly; not as

[&]quot; Prim. Govern., chap. vi. 3.

^{*} Præfat. in 1 Corinth. tom. iii. p.

^{244.} ed. Savil.

Y "We on the contrary affirm, that the Apostle . . . reproveth the Church of Corinth . . . for suffering, as they did, that wicked man, uncast out, and that he now wills them to discharge that duty wherein they had formerly failed,

See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect, 2. in excommunicating him, to which he ably affirmed that all that can be gathered from this place is, that the censures are to be executed with the public knowledge of them that are ga-thered together."—Robinson's Justification of Separation from the Church of England, pp. 196, 197. A.D. 1639.

CHAP. lording it over the heritage, but as ensamples to the flock." 1V. 1 Thess. v. 12, "Know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord." Titus i. 7, "A Bishop must be 85 blameless, as the steward of God:" endued with those qualities that follow, not concerning preaching, but government. The like, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, and ver. 5, "If a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?" Rom. xii. 8, "He that ruleth with diligence." Heb. xiii. 17, "Obey them that have the rule over you," or guide you. Is all this obedience no more than to give them the hearing when they preach? Who shall be left to yield obedience according to this general charge, if the particulars of it, ordinations and censures, belong as well to the people ?? Of the right of the ecclesiastical order in these particulars, enough hath been said. And the primitive practice of them in the Church is enough to interpret the meaning of those Scriptures, to the common sense of men that will use it. Tertullian, Apologet. cap. xxxix., speaking of their assemblies; Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Præsident probati quique Seniores. He telleth us that exhortations, reproofs, and spiritual censures passed at their assemblies, but under the presidence of their presbyters. Firmiliani, Epist. lxxv. ad Cypr.; Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia constituta sit, ubi præsident majojes natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem! "All power and favour is seated in the Church; in which the presbyters are presidents, which have 86 power both to baptize, to impose hands" in penance, "and to ordain." All my meaning is contained in these words.

* "But by whom was this imposition of hands used at the choice of ministers? I answer, by those who gave their suffrages or votes to the election; and those were sometime the congregation itself, and sometime others at their request joining with them, as we read Acts vi. 5, 6."—Christ on His Throne, case xi. p. 68. A.D. 1640.

Throne, case xi. p. 68. A.D. 1640.

"We deny not then, but the flock both severally and jointly is to obey them that have the oversight of them, Heb. xiii. 17; to know them and to have them in singular love, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; but it must be in the Lord..... but what now if the officers will

reign besides the Lord? must they still obey them? or hath the Church no remedy? If the congregation may choose and elect their governors, then they may reject and reprobate them. They are therefore to be cast out by the people. They that are without . . . ate exempted from the Church's judgments, but they which are within the Church must judge, and therefore if the ministers be within . . . they must undergo the judgments of the Church," i. e. the multitude.—Robinson's Justification, pp. 176, 177.

§ 12. Some of St. Cyprian's presbyters made a side of the CHAP. people to admit the lapsed to communicate without penance, upon petition of the imprisoned towards martyrdom. St. Cyprian neither neglecteth the danger of schism nor sitteth down to tell voices, which, if that were the right, in conscience must carry it; but casteth about, with authority, to reduce the people and their leaders to acknowledge themselves. He complaineth that the people was debauched by some of his clergy, that ought to have kept them in discipline, and instructed them to desire no man's reconcilement before penance. Lib. iii. Ep. 14, 16. He writeth to those of the clergy that they shall give account of what they did to him and the clergy, to the confessors, and to the people. Ep. 14. To the people he writeth to advise and rule those that were so irregular in their demands. Ep. 16. But he resolveth, as a cause that concerned the rest of the Church, not to proceed without the advice of his fellow Bishops: Præsente et stantium plebe, quibus et ipsis pro fide et timore suo honor habendus est. Ep. 18. b "In presence of those of the people that fell not, to whom respect was to be had, for the faith and fear 87 they had shewn." He yieldeth respect unto his people to encourage their obedience: but in whom the keys of the Church rested he sheweth, Ep. 16.º Cùm in minoribus delictis, quæ non in Dominum committuntur, pænitentia agatur justo tempore, et exomologesis fiat, inspecta vita ejus qui agit pænitentiam, nec ad communicationem venire quis possit, nisi priùs illi ab Episcopo et clero manus fuerit imposita. "Seeing in less faults that are not done against God men do penance their due time, and come to confession upon consideration of the life of him that doth penance, and no man can come to communicate unless first hands be laid on him by the Bishop and clergy."

§ 13. Shew me any share of the people in determining the measure of penance, or in releasing the persons, and let it be believed that the keys of God's house belong to the people. The words of St. Augustine, contra Epist. Parmen. iii. 2.d Tunc etiam ille et timore percutitur, et pudore sanatur, cum ab universa

^{*} Ep. xvi. xvii. ed. Oxon. The reference in the text is to the edition of Erasmus.

c Ep. xvii. p. 39. ed. Oxon.

d S. Aug. Opp., tom. ix. col. 64. ed. Ben.

Ep. xix. p. 42. ed. Oxon.

CHAP. Ecclesia se anathematizatum videns, sociam turbam cum qua in delicto suo gaudeat, et bonis insultet, non potest invenire. "Then also is he both struck with fear, and healed with shame, when seeing himself anathematized by the whole congregation, he can find no rout to bear him company, wherewith to exult in his fault, and insult over the good." Shall I believe that in St. Augustine's time the sentence of anathema came from the congregation, which Tertullian so long before hath appropriated to the ecclesiastical order, when he saith, De Pudicitia, cap. xiv. Hoc enim non a Deo postularetur, quod erat in præsidentis officio. "For that would not be desired of God which was part of the president's office"-speaking of delivering to Satan the incestuous person at Corinth. Yet nevertheless St. Augustine saith that a man is anathematized by the whole congregation, in regard of the execution and effect which the sentence of the Bishop, or ecclesiastical order, then found by consent of the people when the law enforced it not, which is the very case of the Apostle alleged before." And this is their interest in the government of the Church. For they that give them right of deciding controversies, because they are mentioned in the council at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 12, 22, 23f, may please to consider St. Cyprian's order, which alloweth their presence for their satisfaction, not their voices to decide g. As they are present at councils, but not called to give sentence. But since kingdoms and commonwealths are become Christian, the laws of those kingdoms and commonwealths,

xv. 22) either the whole company of elders, or the chief of the people, if not the whole Christian congregation present at Jerusalem, is understood; the former cannot be. It follows former cannot be. It follows then that by 'the whole Church' others

be meant besides Bishops and elders, It matters not much whether they be called lay-presbyters or not, as long as the thing intended is granted, viz. that the laie congregation may meddle in Church affairs, and give counsel and assistance to the pastors, and be, as well as they, arbiters and censurers of errors and disorders."—An Anti-remon-strance to the late Humble Remonstrance. 2nd ed. p. 10. A.D. 1641. See also Robinson's Justification of Separation from the Church of England, p. 166. A.D. 1639.

s Collatione consiliorum cum Epis-

copis, presbyteris, diaconis confessoribus pariter ac stantibus laicis facta, lapsorum tractare rationem.—S. Cyprian. Ep. xxx. p. 59. ed. Oxon, See Pamelius' note on the place.

[°] Chap. iii. sect. 4.

f "The brethren in the great council at Jerusalem were not shut out while the Apostles and elders came together to consider of a great controversy in divinity, and in making their decrees; but when they were sent forth they passed under their own name and the name of the brethren also, Acts xv. 6, 22, 23, . . . This monopoly was not then learned among God's people, nor among the holy Apostles in their days."

—A Short View of the Prelatical Church of England, p. 4. A.D. 1641.

"By 'the whole Church' (in Acts

88 as they enforce the ministers of the Church to execute their CHAP. office according to such rules as they enforce, so they constrain the people to yield outward effect to the same. The good order and peace of the Church cannot be preserved otherwise.

§ 14. All this while the office of ministers continueth the [Jurisdicsame. No part of it accrueth to the secular powers. By Church becoming Christians they purchase themselves no more right, not from the state.] than the charge of maintaining the ministers of the Church in doing their office containeth. Only, as all Christians have the judgment of particular discretion to discharge unto God, even in matters of religion, the account of what themselves do; so is this judgment of particular discretion by public persons, but most by the Sovereign, of right employed in all that in which they lend or refuse their assistance to the ministers of the Church in their office, always under the account due to God and to the Sovereign. What is then the meaning of that which we read in these days, that all jurisdiction of the Church, exercised by the ministers of it, even that of excommunicating-call it jurisdiction for the present, though the term be proper where there is power to constrain-is inherent and derived in and from the commonwealth, that is, in our particular from the Crown of this kingdom^h? From whence

" But what is this, I ask, to our Bishops, who profess - notwithstanding the apostolical, that is, the divine right of their calling—to hold the places and exercise of their jurisdiction wholly from his Majesty."—Bishop Hall's Answer

"Whatsoever may be said of the function of Bishops it is one thing; but for their jurisdiction it is merely humana institutione, and they must thank the king for it."—Mr. Grimston's Speech in the High Court of Parliament, p. 9. London, 1641.

The Bishops were said by the Puritans to have "usurped upon his Majesty's prerogative royal, and to have proceeded in the high commission and other ecclesiastical courts contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm." the laws and statutes of the realm."—Wilkins, Concil., tom. iv. p. 534. The twelve judges however decided in favour of the Bishops,—that their jurisdiction was not restrained by the statute 1 Edw. VI. cap. 2, which derived it from the king. Bishop Hall instead of denying the proposition of Smectymnuus, sect. xiv., "The laws of the land proclaim

that not only bishopries, but Bishops, and all the jurisdiction they have, is from the king," admitted and defended it. Archbishop Laud in the Star Chamber, June 14, 1637, says, "that though our office be from God and Christ immediately, yet we cannot ex-ercise our office of order or jurisdiction but as God hath appointed us, that is, not in his Majesty's or any Christian king's kingdoms, but by and under the power of the king given us so to do." The Archbishop's words, howdo." The Archbishop's words, how-ever, relate to a matter of fact—as to the then exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction—and not to the principle of the puritanical objection: "Suppose our calling," saith he, "as Bishops, could not be made good jure divino, yet jure ecclesiastico it cannot be denied we stand in as good condition as the laws of England can make us.... supposing we had no other argument but this, I say suppose this, but I grant it not."—See Huntley's "Breviate of the Prelates' Intolerable Usurpations," for the legal argument on the puritan

CHAP. it will follow by just and due consequence, that the office so charged upon the ministers of the Church by the Scriptures cannot be executed by them of right, so long as kingdoms and commonwealths are enemies of the faith. So that what-soever the Church did under the empire, before it was converted to the faith, was an attempt upon the laws of it: and the Church must of necessity die, and come to nothing, for want of right to execute and propagate the ministries which

it standeth encharged with by the Scripture.

[Order and jurisdiction.]

§ 15. The canonists have done well to distinguish between order and jurisdiction in the ministries of the Church, provided that the ground be right understood upon which these terms are distinguishable according to the Scriptures. That will point the effect of it to a far other purpose: but we must not be beholden to the canonists for it, being indeed this. Because he that receiveth the order of presbyter in the Church, for example, is not of necessity by the same act deputed to the exercise of all that his order importeth and enableth to exercise, without receiving the order anew; I say, by the Scriptures he is not confined, when he receiveth the order, when, where, how, what part of those things he shall exercise which the order enableth to do. True it is, when the canon' that prohibited ordinations without title of office was in force, to the true purpose of it, by receiving the order a man was 90 deputed to the service of the Church in which he received it, as a Bishop is now when first he is ordained. And the nearer the course of law cometh to this canon, the better I conceive it is in that regard. But as this deputation was alterable, so was the execution of it of necessity limitable, in them that received it. What law of God, what command of Scripture, what rule or practice of the whole Church is there, to hinder him that is deputed to one service to undertake another for the good of the Church? or to enable all that have received the order of presbyter, for example, indifferently to exercise the power of the keys, and of ordaining, so far as it belongeth to that order of right? much less to exercise it according to their own sense, and not according to rules prescribed by the Church. Therefore, when the order

¹ Conc. Chalcedon, A.D. 451, Can. See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 3. vi. Labbei, tom. iv. col. 1684. ed, Venet.

is given, if you please to call the right and charge of exer- CHAP. cising that which it importeth in such time, and place, and sort, as he that receiveth it is, or may be deputed to do, without receiving the order anew, the power of jurisdiction: this power of jurisdiction may be given or limited by other acts besides, though habitually, and afar off it be contained in the order of presbyters, and exercised without receiving the 91 order anew, so soon as a man is deputed to the exercise of it. If further the question be made, from whom this power of jurisdiction,—that is, the right of exercising that which the order thus enableth to do-is derived, and in whom the power of jurisdiction—that is, the right of giving this right resideth which the canonists derive from the Pope upon the whole Church;—the answer is plain, that it must rest in them and be derived from them upon whom the government of particular Churches, and that which falleth under them, is estated according to the Scriptures; inasmuch as no law of God enforceth the rest of Churches to be governed by one, further than the law of charity enforceth all to concur to the unity of the whole. The dependence, indeed, of particular congregations upon episcopal Churches^j, is clearly derived from the institution of the Apostles related in the Scriptures, as must be observed afterwards; but it must also be said that the dependence of episcopal Churches is from human right k.

§ 16. In the outward jurisdiction of the Church in charitable causes, settled here upon Bishoprics, the matter is somewhat otherwise, inasmuch as it is not so settled by express provision of Scripture. And yet not so strange from the Scripture, and that which is provided there, but that it may seem originally to have been derived from thence. The Apostle, 1 Cor. vi., reproving them for impleading one another in the courts of unbelievers, sheweth that the Church was disparaged in that course, as if it had none fit to decide their controversies: whereas it had been better to refer their causes to 92 the meanest of the Church, than to sue before infidels. That is the meaning of his words there, ver. 4, "If ye have causes concerning matters of this life, set them to judge who are

J Episcopal Churches, i. e. those within a province upon the Mctropolitan Church.

k Upon others, as the Cathedrals

THORNDIKE.

CHAP, least esteemed in the Church:" not spoken by way of precept, commanding them to let the simplest of the brethren judge their causes,—that were a strange course where there were abler men to do it,-but by way of concession, that it were better so to do than as they did do. For the practice of the Church argueth that the custom grew, upon this order of the Apostle, to refer their causes to the chief of the Church as the Church, that is, to the Bishop and presbyters. In the Constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 47, Τὰ δικαστήρια ὑμῶν γινέσθω δευτέρα σαββάτων, ὅπως ἐὰν ἀντιλογία τῆ ἀποφάσει ύμων γένηται, έως σαββάτου έχοντες άδειαν, δυνηθήτε εὐθυναι την άντιλογίαν, καὶ εἰρηνεῦσαι εἰς την κυριακήν τοὺς διαφερομένους πρός άλλήλους συμπαρέστωσαν δὲ τῷ δικαστηρίω καὶ οί διάκονοι καὶ οί πρεσβύτεροι, ἀπροσωπολήπτως κρίνοντες, ὡς Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι. "Let your consistories be upon the Mondays, that if there arise opposition to your sentence, having leisure till the Sabbath, you may set the opposition straight, and make them friends that are at variance among themselves, against the Lord's day. And let the deacons also and presbyters be present at the consistory, judging without respect of persons, as men of God." Cap. 45 afore, 'Αλλά μὴν μηδέ ανέχεσθε κοσμικούς άρχοντας κατά των ύμετέρων δικάζειν. "But suffer not the magistrates of the world to give sentence on yours." Not withdrawing obedience from the secular 93 powers-he should be much mistaken that should so understand it-but taking up controversies within the Church after this course. And all to this purpose, that on the Lord's day they might communicate—that they might give and receive the kiss of peace—that when the deacon pronounced, Mή τις τὶ κατά τινος, μή τις ἐν ὑπονοία¹, "let no man have a quarrel or suspicion against any," they might nevertheless draw near.

§ 17. Such was the beginning of the external jurisdiction of the Church, by which it may be judged whether it were first bestowed by the indulgence of Christian princes, or by them continued, upon the practice of the Church before the empire was Christian. But of this we speak not here, as not concerning the government of the Church in spiritual matters, wherein, as members of the Church, we communicate.

¹ Apostol, Constit. viii. 12. μή τις possible that Thorndike may have κατά τινος. μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει. It is quoted from memory.

That standeth indeed, and cometh to effect, by the free con- CHAP. sent of members of it, so far as religion is not the law of that kingdom or commonwealth in which it flourisheth. Because our Lord endued not the ministers of His kingdom with that power to constrain obedience which Himself used not upon earth. But as the laws of kingdoms and commonwealths enforce the execution and outward effect of ministries instituted in the 94 Scriptures; in this respect, not the power of excommunicating alone,-but of preaching, and ministering the Sacraments, and whatsoever else belongeth to the office, -is derived from the commonwealth, that is, in our particular, from the imperial crown of this kingdom, because it is exercised with effect outwardly-that is, of doing the work, though not of producing the inward end and purpose of converting the soul-by laws enforced by it.

§ 18. The like is to be said of all that is done in deputing those that receive any order in the Church, to the exercise of any part of that function which the order received importeth. The right and charge of it must rest upon those ministries that are encharged with the oversight and government of such matters, according to the Scriptures, and by whom it must be exercised, were the commonwealth not Christian. But the power that enforceth the effect of that which they do in this and all parts of their office, is derived from the secular arm of the commonwealth, that cherisheth the Church in the bosom of it. As for excommunication by judges delegate, or high-commissioners, that is, by men not of these orders; first, it proceedeth upon rules directed by the Church, and then the course of it is not so agreeable to the tenor of Scripture as to the necessities of the kingdom. For that is here to be 95 averred again, that the presbyteries whereof we speak are differenced from the rest of the people, as benches composed of none but persons ordained by imposition of hands for the purpose of teaching the people, and ordering and governing spiritual matters. So you have the office described in all places where there is remembrance of it in the Scriptures. Only in the words of the Apostle, 1 Tim. v. 17, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour: especially those that labour in the word and doctrine," it is imagined that two kinds of presbyters, as well as two parts of CHAP. their office, are expressed, one of ministers of the Church, another of the people; one perpetual, the other ambulatory for their time, both alike interested in the government of the Church, the office of preaching charged upon the one. How little of this is set down in the words of the Apostle, were the sense of them that which is pretended, let all the world judge: yet this is the state of that discipline which hath been

pressed as one of the essential marks of a visible Church m.

The elders Churches

§ 19. But the purpose is now to satisfy that which hath of the peo-ple in the been alleged, from the collections of Justellus upon the African canons, to make good this pretended meaning of the Apostle, and that from the Apostle's own words. He hath there produced, out of Church-writers of the age of St. Augustine and Optatus, or underneath, much remembrance of 96 certain persons, styled in those writers, Seniores Ecclesiarum, "Elders of Churches." As in Actis Purgationis Cæciliani et Felicisⁿ: Clerici et seniores Cirthensium. In St. Augustine Contr. Crescon. iii. 56°, Peregrinus presbyter et seniores Ecclesiæ Mustitanæ regionis; and Ep. 137 p, Clero senioribus et universæ plebi Ecclesiæ Hipponensis. And to these persons are ascribed certain acts pertaining at least to the government of those Churches. As, "the Church goods are deposited in their hands," Optatus, lib. i.4 "They reprove a drunkard," August. Serm. xix. De verbis Dominir. "They are present at an ecclesiastical judgment," Greg. I. xiii. Ep. 44.8 "The elders of the Church at Carthage solicit the sentencing of their Bishops' cause," Epist. Concil. Cabarsussitani apud August. in Psalm. xxxvi. 20.t These and more particulars produced by Justellus". Out of Origen, iii. 51, Contr. Celsum",

m See "A Full and Plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline," reprinted anno 1617: originally writ-ten in Latin by W. Travers, and printed, Rupellæ, 1574.

^a Ad calc. S. Optati Opp., p. 169.

ed. Dupin, Antverp. 1702.
Tom. ix. col. 466, ed. Ben.

P Tom. ii. col. 182. ed. Ben. ^q De Schism. Donat., lib. i. capp.

xvii. xviii. pp. 17, 18. ed. Dupin.

^{*} Vid. S. Aug. Opp. Append. tom. v. col. 149. ed. Ben. The sermon is none of St. Augustine's,

^{*} Regist. Epp. tom. ii. col. 1249, 1250. ed. Ben.

^t Tom. iv. col. 277. ed. Ben. ^u Biblioth. Jur. Canonici Veter. p. 438. ed. Paris, 1661.

Παρ' οἶs εἰσί τινες τεταγμένοι πρὸς τὸ φιλοπευστεῖν τοὺς βίους, καὶ τὰς άγωγάς τῶν προσιοντων.—Origen, tom. i. p. 481. ed. Ben. This passage was pro duced by Smectymnuus, upon which Bp. Hall observes, "Your testimony from Origen cannot but shame you, if yet you can blush: you feared to cite the chapter, that in so long a book you might not be discovered." - Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, sect. xv. p.

that the Church had certain of the people to inform them of CHAP. scandalous offences, whereupon they might proceed to reproof or censure. But observe first the style of the Apostle, Oi καλώς προεστώτες πρεσβύτεροι, 1 Tim. v. 17; and Heb. xiii. 17, Οἱ ἡγοῦμενοι, agreeing with that of Tertullian, Apolog. cap. xxxix., Præsident probati quique seniores; and of Firmilianus, Ep. lxxv. ad Cypr., Ubi præsident majores natu; and Ignatius afore, Προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου . . . καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέ-97 ρων. All expressing the first rank of the Church, in which, after the Bishop, they put the presbyters.

§ 20. Compare herewith the rank in which we see these elders of the people in the time of Optatus and St. Augustine placed in these writings from whence the remembrance of them is alleged. In Actis Purgat. Cæcil. et Felicis., Episcopi, presbyteri, diacones, seniores. August. Contr. Cresc. iii. 56, Presbyter et seniores Ecclesia, and then let common sense judge whether these, that stand in rank and style behind all degrees of the clergy, be the men that the Apostle placeth in the head of the Church, as rulers of it: or how those that governed the Church can come behind deacons, and inferior ranks whom they governed. The truth is, in that age, when the Latin tongue began to decay and corrupt, they are called senioresin the authors alleged by Justellus-in the same sense as now in the vulgar languages, into which the Latin is changed, signori or seigneurs. And therefore there is remembrance of seniores locorum, et seniores regni Childeberti, out of Gregory of Tours , as well as seniores Ecclesia: signifying the "aldermen of commonalties," and "lords of the kingdom," as well as the chief persons of such or such a people, that acknowledged the Christian faith, at such time as all were not 98 Christians, but Churches and commonalties in which they subsisted, made bodies distinct in persons as well as in rights. In that regard it seemeth they are called sometimes Viri ecclesiasticia, "ecclesiastical persons," that is, belonging to the Church, because there were others of like rank, which, being heathen, belonged not to it, rather than for any settled charge, in these offices, which we find them executing in behalf of

Sect. 2. Seniores loci,—lib. viii. cap. 31. col. 403, omnibus senioribus in regno Childeberti regis.—lib. vii. cap. 33. col. 358.

ed. Ben.

Act. Purgat. Cæcil. p. 169. ad calc. S. Optati, ed. Dupin. Antverp.

CHAP. the Church ;-which nevertheless import not the government of the Church, settled upon the Bishop and presbyters, but that assistance which the best of the people, in commonalties where the Church was planted, vouchsafed to afford the government, managed by the ministers according to Scripture ;and have well been understood, as a good and ancient precedent of the office of churchwardens among usb.

What is

§ 21. There is yet another peremptory exception against the double this pretended meaning of the Apostle, published of late in honour of this pretended meaning of the honour of the presbyters the observation of Scultetuse, which shall here be repeated to aver the truth of it. For when he saith, "Let the elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honour," the meaning is, for certain, of double maintenance, which must be in respect of single maintenance allowed somewhere else. Now let any man judge without prejudice, whether these elders of congregations, remembered in St. Augustine's time, being 99 none of the clergy, received maintenance from the Church, out of the oblations of the people, or not. Whereas the Apostle in the beginning of the chapter having said, "Honour widows that are widows indeed," that is, allow them maintenance from the means of the Church, which the Bishop always dispensed; when he cometh to speak of elders unreprovable in their charge, fitly ordereth that their maintenance be double to that of widows, which is also the Italian gloss of Diodatid.

> § 22. The like practice we find in the Constitutions of the Apostles, where he ordereth the course of dividing portions, at the agapæ or feasts of love then used, abrogated afterwards by the twenty-eighth canon of Laodiceae. The words are in the place alleged afore, ii. 28, "Οσον δὲ ἐκάστη τῶν

^b Haud secus ac illi, qui hodie apud nos templorum vel ecclesiarum gardiani vulgo vocitantur.-Casaubon. not. in S. Optat. lib. i. p. 225, London, 1631. So also Saravia, de divers. grad. Minist. cap. xii. p. 13. London, 1612. Thorndike gives the following explanation of these Seniores: "Cum autem, ex instituto Apostolorum in Ecclesiæ conventibus expediebantur, quæ ad Ecclesiæ statum pertinerent; cum, multiplicatis postmodum cœtibus Ecclesiarum, et causis proinde ecclesiasticis tractari omnes sub populi assistentis conscientia non possent, insti-

tutum est, quibusdam in partibus Ecclesiæ, ut primores plebis ejus nomine agerent quæ ad plebem ex more perti-nere viderentur," &c.—De Ration. et jure fin. Controversias, cap. xviii. p. 338, London, 1670.

Subjoined to the "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance," London, 1641.

^d Sopra quello che si dea residere ad altre persone, che ne son degne nella chiesa, quali erano lesante vedove. vers. 17.

^e Circ. A.D. 364. Labbel, tom. i. col. 1536. ed. Venet.

πρεσβυτίδων δίδοται, διπλοῦν διδόσθω τοῖς διακόνοις, εἰς γέρας CHAP. Χριστοῦ, "But whatsoever is given to the old women"—that is, to the widows of whom the Apostle speaketh there-"let twice so much be given to the deacons, in honour of Christ." Then follow the words alleged aforef, wherein it is ordered that the presbyters have as much as the deacons. I know that in another case, that is, in dividing the remains of oblations for the Eucharist, the proportion is otherwise, according to the same Constitutions, viii. 31, Τὰς περισσευούσας ἐν τοῖς μυστικοίς εὐλογίας, κατά γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡ τῶν πρεσβυ-100 τέρων οἱ διάκονοι διανεμέτωσαν τῷ κλήρω τῷ ἐπισκόπω μέρη τέσσαρα, πρεσβυτέρω μέρη τρία, διακόνω μέρη δύο, τοις δὲ ἄλλοις, υποδιακόνοις, ή άναγνώσταις, ή ψάλταις, ή διακονίσσαις, μέρος εν. "Let the deacons distribute the remains of the blessings at the mysteries, according to the mind of the Bishop or presbyters, to the clergy; to the Bishop four parts; to a presbyter three; to a deacon two; to the rest, subdeacons, readers, singers, or deaconesses, one part." Nevertheless, from the particular remembered afore, we may well conclude the meaning of the Apostle, that his order is, the maintenance of presbyters to be double that of widows. And upon these considerations it shall not trouble me to repeat what I have affirmed elsewhere, that for this mistake of lay-elders there is neither appearance in Scripture, nor in ecclesiastical writersg. For of the text, 1 Cor. xii. 28, I shall speak afterwards.

§ 23. Walo Messalinush deriveth the pedigree of these African elders, by conjecture, from those of the Apostle, whose employment consisted in governing the Church, rather than in teaching the people. But out of his excellent learning he acknowledgeth that though they are called "ecclesiastical persons," yet they were not of the ecclesiastical order, not of the bench of the Church, which those of the Apostle did constitute. And therefore the pretence of their

codice Africanæ Ecclesiæ et apud Augustinum. . .

F Sect. 3.
F Prim. Govern., chap. ix. sect. 8.
Ab antiqua porro institutione ac disciplina, qua presbyteri et Episcopi non in ordine ecclesiastico sed in censu laicorum esse credebantur, manserunt et in Ecclesia Africana seniores illi sive presbyteri laici, qui Ecclesiis deserviebant. Quorum mentio extat in

Postea vero quam, ad instar Aaronis familiæ sacerdotum, creditum est, institutos esse presbyteros Ecclesiæ Christianæ, aboliti sunt ubique locorum illi laici presbyteri, in sola Africana Ec-clesia remanserunt.—De Episcopis et presbyteris, cap. v. pp. 396-398.

CHAP, pedigree availeth not to make them inherit the charge which 101 those of our time have been invested with, as much without precedent of the Churches of Africa, as without warrant from the Scriptures. The ground of the mistake was, because men would not believe that in the time of the Apostles, and among the presbyters of their ordaining, there was none that did not preach from time to time. Whereas the state and condition of their congregations required as well men's wisdom and goodness, in the oversight of those spiritual matters, wherein the members of them did communicate, as their learning and eloquence in speaking, which was not always to be expected from such qualities of men as were promoted to that charge. Of our Lord's kindred that confessed Him afore Domitian, promoted therefore afterwards to the government of Churches, I have made mention elsewhere'. Tertull. de Idol. cap. vii., Parum sit, si ab aliis manibus accipiant quod contaminant, sed etiam ipsæ tradunt aliis quod contaminaverunt. Adlegantur in ordinem Ecclesiasticum artifices idolorum. "Be it a small thing, if they receive of others that which they pollute, nay themselves deliver also to others that which they have polluted. Men whose craft is to make idols are chosen to the bench of the Church." If presbyters, that delivered the Eucharist, were sometimes painters and carvers in those days, well may we imagine that all of them preached not 102 always: it was enough that the Bishop or some of them did it.

cerning spiritual graces.

§ 24. If this were the condition of the ecclesiastical order in that time, then must of necessity the office of teaching in the Church belong rather to the particular gifts and abilities of some, than to the general and perpetual charge of all presbyters. And this I still suppose to be part of the cause that it pleased God, in the time of the Apostles, to distribute such varieties of spiritual graces among those that believed, that there might be every where such as might furnish this office of preaching and teaching in their assemblies by the help of extraordinary graces, which, upon the ordinary means of men's learning and studies-which now the Church is so well provided with-would then have proved defective. The use of these graces is that which the Apostle debateth at large, 1 Cor. xii. xiv., and the ex-

¹ Prim. Gov., chap, vii. sect, 5,

position of his meaning there is the business which hence- CHAP. forth I charge myself with. The issue whereof will enable us to discern by what sorts of persons and graces the public service of God was ministered at those assemblies, which his

purpose in that discourse is to regulate.

§ 25. This discourse the Apostle openeth in the beginning of the twelfth chapter, with a mark to discern such as spoke 103 indeed by the Spirit of God, from such as pretended it, but were moved in truth by unclean spirits. For that I take to be the meaning of his words there, ver. 3, "Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed," or anathema: "and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." The words of St. Chrysostom upon this place: Διὸ καὶ ἀργόμενος πρώτον το μέσον μαντείας και προφητείας τίθησι διά τούτο και διακρίσεις έλαβον πνευμάτων, ώστε διακρίνειν, και είδέναι, τὶς μὲν ὁ πνευμάτι φθεγγόμενος καθαρῷ, τὶς δὲ ὁ ἀκαθάρτω^k: that is, "Therefore at the first beginning he putteth down the difference between divining and prophesying, for which purpose they received the gift of discerning spirits,"-as it followeth ver. 10. afterwards-"that they might distinguish and know who spake by a clean spirit, and who by an unclean." And again, Καὶ γὰρ μιαρὸς ὧν ὁ διάβολος, έπεισήει τοις προφητεύουσι, ψευδοπροφήτας εισάγων, ώς δήθεν τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγοντας καὶ αὐτούς!. "For the devil being naught, shuffled in among those that prophesied, foisting in false prophets, forsooth such as themselves also foretold things to come." So that in his judgment, the words of the Apostle are not general, to affirm that no man could call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Ghost, but relate to the particular whereof he speaketh; to tell us, that such as pretended to speak by the Holy Ghost, if they glorified our Lord Christ, then were 104 they what they pretended to be, otherwise not. As who should say, that it was not in them to persist in their counterfeiting, when it was required of them to confess Christ. For we know that in the primitive times, at the naming of Jesus, unclean spirits forsook the possessed. And thus St. Chrysostomm answereth, that she which had the unclean spirit, Acts

k Homil. xxix. in 1 Ep. ad Corinth., 1 Ibid., p. 430. tom. iii. p. 429. ed. Savil. m Ib. p. 431.

She was discovered by it. For being a thing evident that men did and might counterfeit themselves Christians, and call Jesus Lord, with a tongue rather moved by the evil spirit, it seemeth an inconvenience to grant that all men, in confessing Christ, speak by the Holy Ghost, in regard of the truth which they confess.

§ 26. But it is reasonable to conceive that God suffered not those that pretended to spiritual graces-of whom the Apostle propoundeth there to speak in particular-being moved indeed by the evil spirit to persist in their counterfeiting. This sense I embrace, because the same mark is laid down so plainly by another Apostle, to the same purpose, 1 John iv. 1-3: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God, because many false prophets are gone out into the world: hereby know ye the Spirit of God; every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God." "Spirits" the Apostle here calleth "inspirations," as 105 in St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 10, "discerning of spirits," that is, "inspirations:" and 1 Cor. xiv. 12, "because ye are zealous of spirits," that is, "of spiritual graces." And the difference between his mark to try them by and St. Paul's, is but this: according to the one, "He that acknowledgeth Jesus the Messias to be come in the flesh;" according to the other, "He that acknowledgeth Jesus that is come in the flesh, to be the Lord, he it is that speaketh by the Holy Ghost." The same is the meaning of the Apostle, 1 Thess. v. 19, 20, according to the same St. Chrysostomn: where having said, "Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophesying," he addeth immediately, "Try all things, hold fast that which is good:" instructing them in the particular in hand, to examine all that pretended to these spiritual graces, by the gift of discerning spirits, which God then allowed the Church for that purpose; and to make use of such as proved that which they professed.

The proceeding and ex§ 27. The proposition of this discourse of the Apostle then, concerneth those graces of the Holy Ghost that consisted in

a Homil. xi. in 1 Ep, ad Thessalon, cap. v. tom. iv. p. 215. ed. Savil.

speaking, whereof therefore there might be use in public CHAP. assemblies, which his purpose is to order by such rules as we shall see him propound in the end of the fourteenth chapter his disof this epistle. But this to do, he fetcheth a compass about, course.

106 and launcheth into a general discourse of all manner of graces -all manner of ministries-all manner of works that have relation to the public body of the Church-to shew that all were given and intended, not for the eminence of those persons on whom they were bestowed, but for the public benefit. This is the point to which he proceedeth, ver. 4, "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God that worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given every man to profit withal."

§ 28. It concerneth not the purpose of my discourse here, to be nice in inquiring the difference between graces, and ministries, and operations, remembered here by the Apostle. It is enough to observe that the name of ministries is sometimes particular for those that are called deacons, from the original word διακονία, because they ministered to the Apostles, to the Bishop, and presbyters, for discharge of their office: sometimes general, for all kind of service, in regard of him to whom it addresseth. For as concerning the force of the word, as the Apostle saith here, "There are differences of ministries, but the same Lord;" so generally that which is done in service to any person, that person is the Lord, and 107 those services in his regard are ministries. Indeed, the Apostle, when he saith in the next words, "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal," manifestly proceedeth to speak of none but miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, demonstrating the presence thereof in the Church. Though the word χαρίσματα is general in its own nature, signifying all manner of gifts proceeding from favour and grace, as it is translated in the Syriac, מוהבתא, signifying "gifts:" whereas ἐνέργειαι, "operations," seemeth particularly to relate to such graces as tended to miraculous works, and is therefore rendered in the Syriac חילותא, signifying "powerful

§ 29. Thus it is true which St. Chrysostom writeth upon this

CHAP. chaptero, in the beginning; because those that were converted from idols knew not the Old Testament, and the Holy Ghost is invisible, God gave in these graces a sensible evidence of the operation of it: Καὶ τοῦτο ἐφανέρου τοῖς ἔξωθεν, ὅτι πνεῦμά έστιν έν αὐτῷ τῷ φθεγγομένω διὸ καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ καλεῖ, λέγων, Εκάστω δὲ ή φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος δίδοται πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, τὰ χαρίσματα φανέρωσιν τοῦ πνεύματος ονομάζων. "And this," saith he, "manifested to those that were without the Church, that the Holy Ghost is in him that speaketh. Therefore so he calleth it, saying, 'But to every one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit with;' calling gifts the manifestation of the Spirit;" and Œcumenius according to himp. Though this be true, yet the process of the Apo-108 stle's discourse from ver. 12, intendeth not only to comprise miraculous graces, but all ministries ordained for the public service of the Church, whether depending on miraculous graces or not; as appeareth both by the reason whereupon he proceedeth, and by the catalogue, wherein from ver. 28, he recapitulateth and reckoneth the particulars of all that can be reduced under those heads of graces, of ministries, of operations.

§ 30. For the reason wherewith the Apostle pursueth this point proposed, that all these are intended not to make the persons eminent in whom they are, but for public benefit, is the comparison of a natural body and the members of it, whereof there is none that envieth or despiseth another; to teach private persons not to grudge at them upon whom public graces or places are bestowed; and them not to despise private persons. This comparison the Apostle setteth on foot also in his epistle to the Romans, but slighteth it over more in brief there, because as St. Chrysostom thinketh q, it seemeth, the abuse against which he writeth, as it was also there, so was it more rife among the Corinthians. reason, it is plain, concerneth those that have public ministries no less than those that have miraculous graces; both being for the common benefit of the body, which is the 109 Church. But the Apostle having enlarged this comparison

⁶ Homil. xxix. in 1 Ep. ad Corinth. 1631.

γ Homil. xxix. in 1 Ep. ad Corinth., γ Homil. xxix. in 1 Ep. ad Corinth.,

^p Φανέρωσιν πνέυματος, τᾶ σημεῖα ^q Homil. xxix. in 1 Ep καλεῖ. Œcum. in loco. p. 538. Paris, tom. iii. p. 429. ed. Savil.

to the full in this place, to shew to whom he speaketh as CHAP. members of public places, proceedeth ver. 28, to particularize all to whom his exhortation belongeth, Apostles, prophets, and the rest; among whom he reckoneth ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις, that is, "helps" and "governments;" which our English rendereth "helps in governments";" which, whether they mean miraculous graces, such as the Apostle calleth "the manifestation of the Spirit," or ministries of public service in the Church, I refer to further consideration afterwards.

§ 31. In the mean time observing that the Apostle, writing to the Romans for the same purpose, hath reckoned more particulars of the same nature not necessarily proceeding from miraculous graces, though his discourse there, xii. 6, compriseth those also when he saith, "having several gifts according to the grace that is given to us," for the present, we may see what this whole discourse of the Apostle aimeth at, by the conclusion of the chapter, where he saith, "Covet earnestly the best gifts: and yet shew I unto you a more excellent way." For this exhortation it is that tieth all that hath passed with that which followeth. The Syriac readeth it thus; "If ye be zealous of the best graces, I will yet shew 110 you a more excellent way." Theodoret's and Œcumenius make a question of it, thus; "Are ye zealous of the most eminent graces? I will yet shew you a way beyond them all." But whether the meaning be to exhort them to pursue the most useful graces, or to suppose that they did it, thus much for certain his intent is, to give the ground and reason why all members of public service in the Church are not to seek the eminence of their persons, but the common benefit; because there is a thing called "the common charity of Christians," more available towards the esteem of all men's persons, be they never so private in the Church, with God, than all those gifts of the Holy Ghost, that appear so marvellous to common sense.

§ 32. This is the occasion of that comparison which fol- His cataloweth throughout the thirteenth chapter, between the com- logue of graces and mon charity of Christians, and their particular miraculous ministries. graces; which being despatched there, in good time doth the

Authorized version, A.D. 1611. κατ' έρωτήσιν ανέγνωσαν. Œcume-* Theodoret, in loco, τοῦτό τινες nius cites Photius, p. 547.

Apostle proceed to resume that which he had proposed afore, and upon this occasion intermitted, concerning zeal and study for the most excellent graces, which he tieth up with that charity which hitherto he hath preferred to them all in that proposition which he openeth the fourteenth chapter with, "Follow after charity and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy." For when he preferreth prophesying 111 before other spiritual gifts, it is plain enough what he meant when he said before, "be zealous of the best graces:" a thing in which there can be no doubt, because it is the subject of what is behind in this discourse.

§ 33. Now let me lay down the words of the Apostle wherein he reckoneth in particular the graces and ministries of the Church, 1 Cor. xii. 28; "And God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps in governments, diversities of tongues," whereunto we may add out of ver. 10, "interpreting of tongues." And herewith compare the catalogue of the same, which he compriseth under the name of gifts and graces, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8; "Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us; whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation; he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness." That which followeth, concerning the particular virtues of Christians, and the works of them, as love, hope, patience, and the like; such as are also those that went afore, "of giving and shewing mercy," which the Apostle hath ranked among those graces which tend to the general good of the Church, it 112 seemeth, because they also respect the benefit of others.

§ 34. Last of all, add unto these the ministries which the grace of Christ—upon His Ascension, poured out upon the Church—appointeth; according to the same Apostle, Eph. iv. 11, 12, "And He gave some Apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." By which words, as well as by the particulars which he putteth down, and which he

leaveth out of those which he reckoneth in the other places, CHAP. it appeareth that he intended—according to the purpose of his speech there-to comprise none but those graces and ministries which tend to the edification of the whole Church in matter of doctrine. But writing to the Corinthians, his intent was to set down all manner of graces and ministries tending to the common benefit of the whole Church either in spiritual or corporal necessities, in working miracles and the like; none whereof he mentioneth to the Romans, neither the graces of Apostles and Evangelists, it seemeth, because they are graces and offices not confined to one Church in particular. These catalogues are here compared for the ease and 113 direction of them that desire to judge of such particulars as seem not yet out of doubt in the ministries appointed by the Apostles.

§ 35. To which purpose we must resume what hath been How dielsewheret observed, that nothing hindereth divers of the them may graces specified to meet in the same person. For though we meet in the same suppose, as the Apostle seemeth to suppose, all ministries to man. be accompanied with the graces which the discharge of them requireth; as the elders of Israel, Num. xi. 25, received part of Moses' spirit; and though all graces infer ministries, as he that is endued with any of the graces specified to the Corinthians, ministereth the effect of his grace to the benefit of others; yet there is a difference between ministries of public office in the Church, whether to cease or continue, and graces which enable either a public person to a public, or private persons to a particular work, as that of miracles. Several ministries of public place in the Church must belong to several persons; but public persons are capable as well of the graces which private persons have, as of those that belong to their public charge, including perhaps the graces of inferior ministries.

§ 36. And the instance of the first in the catalogue shall put this out of doubt, that is, of Apostles. For nothing hindereth an Apostle to be a prophet, to speak strange lan-114 guages, to work miracles, or the like. The commentaries under St. Ambrose's name, Quamvis sint et Apostoli pro-

Prim. Govern., chap. ix. sectt. 5, 6. ii. col. 153. ed. Ben. In Ep. 1 ad Corinth. xii. 28. tom.

CHAP. phetæ, quia primus gradus omnia subjecta habet. "Though," saith he, "Apostles also are prophets, because the chief degree hath the rest subject to it." His meaning is, the grace of Apostles containeth the graces of inferior ministers, as their ministries are subject to that of the Apostles. Evangelists were no Apostles, but their ministers in using their graces to second the Apostles, therefore the grace of Apostles containeth that of evangelists. Prophets were no Apostles to preach the faith and plant Churches, but for the instruction of Churches planted in the knowledge of the Scriptures; but the grace of a prophet to all purposes might be in an Apostle. Doctors were no Apostles, but Apostles chief of doctors. Elders of Churches could not be Apostles, they were from the beginning ordained for the service of several Churches, but the Apostles make themselves their fellow elders in regard to the government of all Churches of their charge. If presbyters, much more Bishops, which as heads of presbyters, were that in one Church which the Apostles were in all of their own planting and charge.

§ 37. Those companions of the Apostles whereof you have heard, are some of them called in express terms evangelists, and the office may well be thought to belong to the rest. 115 Titus, Clemens, Linus, Erastus, and others, may upon good presumption be called evangelists; as those are to whom their condition is so answerable, Mark, Luke, Timothy, that are so called in Scripture, or so reputed in ecclesiastical writers. My conjecture was v, that they were sent by their several Churches—as Timothy from that of Lystra, Acts xvi. 3,—as deacons to minister unto the Apostles, heads of those Churches for the time that they continued in their attendance, and by them employed to preach the Gospel, at their appointment, in such places where themselves could not, in regard of the grace given them to do it. As Philip, deacon to the Apostles first, and afterwards to St. James, was also an evangelist to preach the Gospel to Samaria, Acts viii. 5; xxi. 8. And I see no cause to repent of this conjecture reading thus, Acts xix. 22, "So he sent before two of those that ministered unto him," Timotheus and Erastus. It is the word from whence deacons have their name. But when they received the charge of

^{*} Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect, 16.

Churches, though Bishops of those Churches, yet ceased they CHAP. not to be evangelists, for the charge of propagating the Gospel through the countries seated underneath the cities of those Churches. Thus was Mark at Alexandria, Timothy at Ephe-116 sus, Titus at Gortyna in Crete; the rest are to be seen in Walo Messalinusx, p. 192. He supposeth that these companions of the Apostles are themselves also called Apostles of

a second rank, as sent by the Apostles to preach the Gospel at their disposing, as the Apostles were by Christ to preach the Gospel every where without restrainty. And there is appearance of this sense, 2 Pet. iii. 2; Rev. ii. 2,-not in Phil. ii. 25; 2 Cor. viii. 23; where Epaphroditus and others are called 'Apostles of Churches,' in a third sense, declared elsewhere, answerable to those Apostles of the synagogue, mentioned in the constitutions of the emperors that were sent through the synagogues to gather the dues of their Patriarch residing in Palestine.—And Theodoret " conceiveth that when all presbyters were called Bishops, then Bishops were called Apostles in this sense. But we must not understand those to be the Apostles of whom this place speaketh, but the first Apostles of Christ; for those that are thus called Apostles, are the same that are called Evangelists here and Eph. iv. 11. Thus there is a difference between graces and ministries.

§ 38. But as concerning the office of doctors mentioned by Doctors the Apostle, it may be two ways understood. The disciples of the of prophets under the Old Testament, such as attained not to presbyters that 117 the grace of immediate inspiration,—but rested in that know- preached. ledge which the ordinary blessing of God upon their studies was able to compass, -in the Scripture are called "prophets," in the Chaldee paraphrase are sometimes translated "scribes,"

Episcopos Apostolos, et Episcopos presbyteros Apostolici sæculi, quod hi specialem certarum ecclesiarum ἐπισκοπὴν habebant, illi generalem omnium.—Id. p. 191.

* Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 16.
* Έπισκόπους δὲ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καλεῖ· ἀμφότερα γὰρ εἶχον κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τὰ ὀνόματα. — Comm. in THORNDIKE.

De Episcopis et Presbyteris. Philippens. i. 1. p. 323. Μετὰ γὰρ cap. iv. Lugd. Batav., 1640.

7 Sed hæc differentia extilit inter κόνοις προσήκοντας γράφει, τοὺς πρεσβυτερους παραλιπών. τοὺς πρεσ-βυτερους παραλιπών. τοὺς δὲ νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους, ἀποστόλους δυόμαζον τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προϊόντος, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὅνομα τοῖς ἀληθῶς ᾿Αποστόλοις κατέλιπον τὴν δὲ τῆς ἐπι-σκοπῆς προσηγορίαν τοῖς πάλαι καλουμέ-νοις ᾿Αποστόλοις ἐπέθεσαν.... Comm. in 1 Tim. i. 1. pp. 473,474. Tom. iiī. ed. Sirmond. Paris. 1642. CHAP. sometimes "doctors," as hath been saidb. Some man may conceive the like of the prophets of the New Testament; that their disciples, that had no immediate inspirations, were admitted to teach in the Church, which, after this rank of prophets was ceased, came also to nothing. But because there is no mention of any such in ecclesiastical writers as of ministers of Churches,-it shall be observed indeed that sometimes laymen were licensed to teach the people in the primitive times, but those are never called or accounted doctors of Churches, that we should suppose them to be the remains of those ministers of Churches which the Apostle calleth "doctors,"-there is no reason to doubt that the men whom the Apostle here calleth "doctors," are those of the presbyters which had the abilities of preaching and teaching the people at their assemblies; that those of the presbyters that preached not, are called here by the Apostle "governments," and the deacons ἀντιλήψεις, that is, "helps," or "assistants" to the government of presbyters; so that it is not to be translated "helps in governments"," but "helps," "governments." For we are not here to imagine that the Apostle reckoning one by one the list of all graces and ministries of the Church, should say never a word of presbyters and deacons, the only ministries of succession in the Church under Bishops.

Helps were deacons.

§ 39. Now the office of deacons, though set up at the first upon occasion of ministering the oblations of the faithful to the 118 necessities of the poor, yet if we regard the practice of it in the times next the Apostles, cannot be better expressed than [by] calling them "assistants" to the office of government resting in the presbyters, when there was no Bishop at Corinth. And we have here a particular reason why the Apostle would not call them by the usual name of "deacons" in this place, because he had used it before in a general sense, when he said, "There be divers ministries," διακονίαι, "but one Lord," and therefore could not so well use it again here in this particular

[Presby-ters' office twofold.]

§ 40. And the Apostle's intent here being to distinguish all graces in his catalogue, and having shewed that there were

º Chap. ii. sect. 21.

authorized by King James, printed 1611. 1 1t was so translated in the version The mistake was corrected in 1638.

two parts of the presbyter's office in teaching and governing, CHAP. the one whereof some attained not, even in the Apostle's time: it is reasonable to imagine that the office and ministry of presbyters is specified here in the names of these two graces, in the exercise whereof it consisteth. No otherwise than in the other place to the Romans, in these words, 'O διδάσκων, εν τη διδασκαλία.... ο προϊστάμενος, εν σπουδή, are designed the same two graces, in the work whereof consisteth the office of presbyters: which he that acknowledgeth shall give reason enough why the Apostle reckoneth the gift of exhortation there, besides that of doctrine; being no incon-119 venience to make several parts of this grace, tending to the edification of the Church, according to that which several men are most able to do, though all may be comprised under one name of "doctrine." Whereas those that, upon the mention of teaching, imagine a several ministry of doctors instituted by the Apostle for all ages of the Church, are tied in consequence to set up the like for exhortation, which is ridiculous. Again, hereby we give account what the Apostle to the Ephesians understandeth by "pastors and teachers," to wit, those that exercised also that part of the presbyter's office which concerned the edification of the Church in doctrine,

§ 41. For what reason else can be rendered, why there is [Presbyno remembrance of pastors in either of those other places, doctors.] wherein the Apostle maketh a more particular reckoning of the ministries of the Church, both to the Romans and to the Corinthians? What reason but this, because they are set down in both places under the name of "doctors?" Well may it seem that the office of them, whom the synagogue called "pastors," being referred in the Church to the inferior 120 order of deacons, the name stuck upon those that ministered the food of the soul in the Church which is for the purpose of it. Clemens, Epist. ad Cor. p. 63d: "Ητω τὶς πιστὸς, ἤτω δυνατός γνώσιν έξειπείν, ήτω σοφός εν διακρίσει λόγων, ήτω άγνὸς ἐν ἔργοις. "Be a man faithful, be a man able to utter knowledge, be he wise in discerning discourses, be he pure in

whereof there he speaketh, and of nothing else: and thereupon conclude that pastors and doctors are both one there

with the Apostle.

d Cap. xlviii, p. 174, ed. Coteler. e Cotelerius reads, ἐν δικαία κρίσει.

CHAP. works." He seemeth to point at some of the presbyters there in whom these abilities were. Tertull. de præscript. cap. iii.; Quid ergò si Episcopus, si diaconus, si vidua, si virgo, si doctor, si etiam martyr lapsus à regula fuerit? "What then if a Bishop, if a deacon, if a widow, if a virgin, if a doctor, if even a martyr shall fall from the rule?" In this list of principal ranks in the Church, presbyters have no room, unless we understand them in the name of "doctors," the best part of their office.

> § 42. Theodoret, Epit. Hær. Fabul. lib. v. cap. penult. ; Περί του έν Κορίνθω πεπορνευκότος, τί αν είποιεν, ος ου μόνον θείων μυστηρίων ήξίωτο, άλλά και διδασκαλικού έτετυχήκει γαρίσματος; "What can they say of the incestuous person at Corinth, who was not only vouchsafed the divine mysteries, but also had attained a doctor's grace?" He followeth St. Chrysostom's conjecture, which conceiveth that the Corinthians were "puffed up," as the Apostle blameth them, 1 Cor. v. 3, with the opinion of that man, because he was one of their doctors, that is, one of the presbyters of that Church that exercised the office of preaching, and by that means bore sway among the people. In fine, the Apostle 121 intendeth by "doctors" the same that are so called in all ecclesiastical writers, that is, the Bishops, or such of the presbyters as were seen in preaching.

§ 43. It is worth the observing, that Beza hath expounded those whom the Apostle calleth ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις⁸, no otherwise than "deacons" and "presbyters;" meaning indeed those elders of the people which he imagined. But having shewed that there never was any such in the Churchh, well may we take his judgment along with so much of the truth as he acknowledgeth; which deserveth still more credit from the president of synagogues, which had elders, some learned, some not, some that preached, and some that did not, as hath

§ 44. Salmasius of late, in his work De Fænore Trapezit.k, hath shewn some evidence of two sorts of presbyters in the

¹ B. Theodoret. Opp., tom. iv. p. 314. ed. Sirmond. Paris. 1642.

s 'Αντιλήψειs, diaconorum et vidua-rum ministeria. Κυβερνήσειs Presby-terorum ordinem declarat.—Beza in

h Prim. Govern., chap. ix. sect. 8.

Chap. iii. sect. 18.
k Lib. ii. pp. 410—420. Lugd. Bat. 1640.

first times of the Church. But according to his admirable CHAP. knowledge, he saw withal that they were all of one rank in the Church—all of the ecclesiastical order—all made by imposition of hands; and by consequence, none of those elders of the people which have been set up to manage the keys of the Church, that is, the office of the ecclesiastical order, according to the Scriptures. Besides, it is to be observed that the 122 office of Bishops-which name he thinketh most proper to those presbyters which preached not, but were exercised in ordering Church-matters—and presbyters is described almost in all places where there is mention of it in the Scriptures by both qualities, of teaching and governing the Church. Which is my argument to conclude, that howsoever some men's abilities might be seen in the one rather than in the other,howsoever some men, according to their abilities, might be applied to this rather than to that, yet both offices concerned the whole order, that of preaching in chief. To which, though some attained not, yet all are encouraged to labour towards it as the most excellent work of their place, as by St. Paul allowing them that double maintenance, especially in that respect: so by these Constitutions allowing them that double portion at their feasts of love for that purpose, "that they may take pains in the word of doctrine," as the words go there 1.

§ 45. Be it then resolved, that the presbyters of the [Doctors Church, at least part of them, were those doctors whereof the tinet from Apostle writeth; and from thence be it considered what dis-presby-ters.] tempers slight mistakes in the sound of the Scripture bring to pass, when we see the order of doctors, distinct from that of presbyters, pressed as a point of that discipline that maketh one of the essential marks of a visible Church^m. But whether 123 the prophets of the primitive Church, which taught the people at their assemblies, were presbyters or not, is not so easy to determine. Some of them we have reason enough to think were, be it but for those prophets of Antiochia, Acts xiii. 2, that "ministered unto the Lord and fasted," when the Holy Ghost said unto them, "Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for

Word of God, pp. 71-82; reprinted 1617.

See chap. iv. sect. 3.
 See a Full and Plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline out of the

CHAP. the work to which I have appointed them;" and those other IV. among whom Timothy received imposition of hands with prophesying, 1 Tim. iv. 14. But that all prophets were presbyters is more than I can resolve. By the Apostle's description, it should seem that they had their place with the bench of the Church. Walo Messalinus out of Ruffinus hath remembered to us Ordinem propheticum", "the rank or bench of prophets, as a ministry by themselves." Irenæuso, Justin Martyrp, and Tertullianq, have left mention of the grace of prophets as extant in their time, but of the use of it, for the ordinary ministry of the Church in teaching the people, they have said nothing, to my knowledge. Of these prophets henceforth we are to entreat.

CHAPTER V.

PROPHETS IN MOST OF THE CHURCHES REMEMBERED BY THE APOSTLES. THE GIFT OF LANGUAGES, THE PURPOSE AND NATURE OF IT. THE LIMBS AND BRANCHES OF BOTH THESE GRACES IN ST. PAUL. OF PRAYING, AND PRAISING GOD BY THE SPIRIT. THOSE THAT SPAKE STRANGE TONGUES UNDERSTOOD WHAT THEY SAID. INTERPRETATION CONCERNETH ALL THAT WAS SPOKEN IN STRANGE LANGUAGES. THEY PRAYED AND STU-DIED FOR SPIRITUAL GRACES. PROPHESYING IN ST. PAUL SIGNIFIETH SINGING PSALMS. PRAYERS OF THE CHURCH CONCEIVED BY IMMEDIATE INSPIRATION. THE NEARNESS OF THE GRACES OF PROPHESYING AND LANGUAGES. THE GROUND AND MEANING OF THE APOSTLES' RULE. IT 124 PROCEEDETH OF NONE BUT PROPHETS. WHAT IS TO BE JUDGED IN THAT WHICH PROPHETS SPOKE. THE CUSTOM IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH OF MANY PREACHING AT THE SAME ASSEMBLY CAME FROM HENCE.

Prophets in most of the Churches remembered by the Apo-

In the beginning of the Christian faith it pleased God, for the propagation and maintenance of it, to revive the grace of prophesying, decayed and lost among His ancient people, in a large measure, in most of the Churches planted by the Apostles: though there be not found so much concerning their

ⁿ Prophetæ dum in Ecclesia primitiva fuerunt, propheticum ordinem con-stituerunt.—Cap. v. p. 392. Ruffinus describes Spiridion, Bishop of Cyprus, as vir unus ex ordine prophetarum.— Hist. Eccles., lib. i. cap. v. p. 197.

<sup>Advers. Hæres., lib. ii. cap. 82.
quoted by Eusebius, Eccles. Hist., lib. v. cap. 7. pp. 171, 172. ed. Vales.
P Dialog. cum Tryphon., cap. xxxix.
p. 136. cap. lxxxii. p. 179. ed. Ben.
Tertullian. Apolog., cap. xxiv. p. 56. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.</sup>

office any where as in this Church of Corinth. In the CHAP. Church of Jerusalem, the mother of all Churches, Acts xi. 27, "And in those days came prophets from Jerusalem to Antiochia;" xv. 32, "And Judas and Silas being prophets also themselves." In the Church of Antiochia, Acts xiii. 1, "Now there were in the Church that was at Antiochia certain prophets and doctors." At Thessalonica, 1 Thess. v. 20, "Despise not prophesying," At Corinth, as we see at large. At Ephesus, Eph. iv. 11, "And He gave some Apostles, some evangelists, some prophets, some pastors and doctors." At Rome, Rom. xii, 6, "Whether prophesy, according to the proportion of faith." And setting these particulars aside, how 125 general the grace was, is to be seen, because the Apostle, reckoning 1 Cor. xii. 28, all members of public use and service, Eph. iv. 11, all ministries of edification, nameth "prophets" among them whom God hath placed in the Church.

§ 2. Besides this grace, which was more for the edification The gift of of them that believed, instructing them in the mysteries of our faith at their religious assemblies, the grace of speaking strange languages was also bestowed upon the Churches, to make evidence to unbelievers that the Holy Ghost was present there, and by that means to draw them to believe, as the Apostle saith here, 1 Cor. xiv. 22, "Tongues are a sign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not: but prophesying serveth not for them that believe not, but for them that believe:" containing in it a preface to that which God now intended to do, in bringing all nations and languages to the acknowledgment of Him that was hitherto confined to one people, so that, when the Gospel was received, His praises should sound in all kind of languages. For it is not to be imagined as if the gift of languages, that maketh so much noise in this epistle, and in the Scriptures elsewhere, consisted merely in speaking in an unknown tongue, and not in the subject suggested to them by the Spirit to speak.

§ 3. It is plain besides, that it was the praises of God, and The pur-126 those mysteries of the knowledge of God, which those that nature had the gift could not reach to of themselves, that they were of it. moved by the Holy Ghost to express in unknown languages. So it is said of the Apostles when first they received this grace, Acts ii. 4, "And they were all filled with the Holy

CHAP. Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." And to shew further what matters they uttered, the company assembled say of them, ver. 11, "We do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God." As it is said of them which were with Cornelius, Acts x. 46, "They heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God." And upon this ground it is that St. Peter expoundeth the passage of the Prophet Joel, "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," of the Apostles when they spake in strange languages. To shew us that the matters uttered in strange languages were the like as the prophets revealed, the gift of unknown tongues over and above.

[Prophesying a spiritual

§ 4. From whence we may perceive the meaning of that which the Apostle hath set down here, ver. 2, "For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God; for no man understandeth him, howbeit in the 127 Spirit he speaketh mysteries." And again, ver. 4. "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself." Where you have in plain terms, that those things, which the Holy Ghost moved men to speak in strange languages, were for the instruction of those that had the grace in the mysteries of God's kingdom. For this reason the gift of languages is compared with that of prophesying throughout this whole fourteenth chapter of the first to the Corinthians, with intent to regulate the use of both at their religious assemblies. So that it seemeth all spiritual graces are by the Apostle referred to these two kinds, in that difference which he maketh from the beginning, "Be zealous of spiritual gifts, but rather of prophesying:" where I must allow Beza's translation to be more exact than that which we use. For where he saith, Ζηλοῦτε τὰ πνευματικά, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε, it is plain that prophesying is of the number of spiritual graces, and therefore not to be excepted, in opposition to them, as if the Apostle exhorted to study prophesying rather than spiritual graces; but as it is translated there, to be zealous of spiritual

r Affectate spiritualia, maxime vero, ut prophetetis.

graces, but of all spiritual graces, especially of that of pro- CHAP. phesying.

§ 5. Œcumenius thus glosseth the words, Οὐ δεί δὲ, οὐδὲ τῶν The limbs άλλων άμελειν χαρισμάτων, και μάλιστα του περί την προφη- branches 128 τείαν χαρίσματος. "But we must not neglect other graces, of both and especially that of prophesying;" to the same sense, which graces in St. Paul. is the true meaning of the words. Now the particulars in regard whereof the Apostle advanceth the gift of prophesying beyond that of languages, are thus set down, ver. 3; "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort." Τούς γάρ ἀνθρώπους, φησίν, οἰκοδομεί, καὶ παρακαλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν, καὶ παραμυθεῖται ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις πειρασμοίς. This is the gloss of Œcumeniust: that is, "For, saith he, he edifieth men, and exhorteth them to the faith, and comforteth them upon the temptations that shall be." Here are then so many limbs of this grace, and of the work to which it did enable. And chap, xiii, 2, when he saith, "And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge," it should seem by these words, that the knowledge of all Divine mysteries is to be ranged under this grace. St. Chrysostom thereu, Où την προφητείαν τίθησι μόνον, άλλα και την ύψηλοτάτην προφητείαν είπων γάρ, Έαν έχω προφητείαν, επήγαγε, και είδω τά μυστήρια πάντα, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν. "He putteth not down prophesying alone, but the highest degree of it; for having said, 'If I have prophecy,' he addeth, 'and know all mysteries, and all knowledge."

§ 6. And whether those particulars which the Apostle here [of proexpresseth xii. 8, when he saith, "For to one is given by the phesying.] Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit;" whether these, I say, be of the same nature, limbs of this gift of prophesying, and of immediate inspiration or not, is resolved both by the terms which the Apostle useth when he saith, "To one is given the word of 129 wisdom by the Spirit, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit:" for those things which are given by the Spirit are inspirations in this place. And by the consequence

* Photius ap. Œcumenii Comment., in 1 Ep. ad Corinth. p. 553. Paris. 1631.

^{&#}x27; Photius, ib. p. 554.
" Homil. xxxii. in cap. xiii. 2. p. 452. tom. iii. ed. Savil.

CHAP, of his speech, having said afore, "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit with:" for the manifestation of the Spirit are those graces by which the presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church was made manifest. And we see in what particulars the Apostle further specifieth this grace, in opposition to that of languages, xiv. 6. "Now, brethren, if I come unto you with tongues, what shall I profit you, except I shall speak to you, either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophesying, or by doctrine?"

[Its parsense here.]

§ 7. These are all particulars comprised within the compass of that grace which the Apostle intendeth to advance beyond that of languages, and in ver. 1. and elsewhere goeth under the name of prophesying. And therefore I am apt to think that in this text the word prophesying standeth in a particular sense, to signify foretelling of things to come: as it doth also chap, xii, 10. For the Apostle having said, ver. 8, 130 "To one is given the word of wisdom by the Spirit, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit"-which are both members of the grace of prophesying in the latitude of it, as appeareth chap, xiii, 3; "And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge,"addeth nevertheless, ver. 10, "To another is given the working of miracles, to another prophecy;" distinguishing the grace of foretelling things to come from the wisdom and knowledge inspired by the Holy Ghost, which are all sometimes comprehended under one grace of prophesying.

[It dis-closeth secrets.

§ 8. But that which the Apostle calleth revelation is without doubt the disclosing of secrets. That I take to be questionless, by what we find afterwards, ver. 24, 25; "But if all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all, and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest, and so falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is among you of a truth." St. Chrysostom here x, Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ίσον είσελθόντα τινά ίδειν, τὸν μέν Περσιστί τὸν δὲ Συριστί φθεγγόμενον, καὶ εἰσελθόντα ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ εἴτε πειράζων, καὶ μετὰ πονηρᾶς γνώμης, εἴτε ύγιως είσελήλυθε, καὶ ὅτι τὸ καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ πέπρακται, καὶ τὸ βεβούλευται, πολύ γάρ τοῦτο ἐκείνου φρικωδέστερον, καὶ χρησι-

* Homil. xxxvi, in cap. xiii. 25, p. 484, tom. iii. ed. Savil.

μώτερον. "It is not the same for a man to come in, and see CHAP. one speaking Persian, another Syriac, as it is to hear the 131 secrets of his own mind, and whether he came in to try with an evil mind or with a sound one; and that he hath done this or that, for this is much more terrible and useful than that." To this purpose he allegeth Nebuchadnezzar's act, falling down before Daniel upon the discovery of his dream, ii. 46, 47. And that under the Old Testament revealing of secrets was a thing required at their prophets' hands, by the way, we may perceive by that which Saul and his father's servants did, 1 Sam. ix. 6, repairing to Samuel to inquire of his father's asses that were strayed.

§ 9. From whence we must conclude that this grace of [As under prophesying under the New Testament was of immediate the Ol inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to all purposes as under the ment.] Old. For you shall find, ver. 30, "If revelation be made to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace:" to shew us that some were inspired upon the very point of time with the truth of matters in debate at their assemblies, as was Jahaziel son of Zachariah at the meeting which Josaphat had assembled, 2 Chron. xx. 14. As were those by whom Paul and Barnabas were sent, Acts xiii. 1-3. And those by whom Timothy was ordained, 1 Tim. iv. 14. And as that maid at least pretended to be, of whom Tertullian De Animay, cap. ix. Besides, we see how often these prophets of the New Testa-132 ment are inspired to foretell things to come. And in reason, the gift of languages being inspired both for the subject and the tongue in which it is expressed, it is certain that the gift of prophesying is not contained within human conceptions. And indeed the offices specified out of the Apostle of edifying, exhorting, comforting, of speaking words of wisdom and knowledge of mysteries, may well be referred to that rank of inspirations whereby a man is moved to speak that which the use of his human reason enableth him not to conceive, with

7 Est hodie soror apud nos revelationum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesia, inter Dominica solemnia per extasin in spiritu patitur, conversatur cum Angelis, aliquando etiam cum Domino, et videt et audit Sacramenta, et quorundam corda dignoscit, et medicinas desiderantibus submittit. Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur, ita inde materiæ visionibus subministrantur, forte nescio quid de anima disserueramus, cum ea soror in spiritu esset. This sister was Priscilla the Montanist. P. 480. ed. Pamel. Rothomag. 1662.

CHAP. assurance that the motion is from the Holy Ghost: which kind of inspirations are counted prophecies even among the Hebrew doctors, as hath been said *.

[It expoundeth scripture.] without cause understood under the gift of prophesying in this place. The Commentaries intituled to St. Ambrosea, Prophetas interpretes dicit Scripturarum. Sicut enim propheta futura prædicit, quæ nesciuntur; ità et hic, dum Scripturarum sensum, qui multis occultus est, manifestat, dicitur prophetare. "By prophets he meaneth expositors of the Scriptures. For as a prophet foretelleth things to come which are not known, so such an one, manifesting the meaning of the Scripture, which many perceive not, is said to prophesy." The same is to be found again in him and others divers times, not so much because the Apostle hath specified here any such part of prophets' office, as because the rules which he prescribeth 133 in prophesying afterwards, from ver. 29, do plainly belong to those that had the Scripture in hand to expound, as shall appear afterwards. Therefore it is plain that these prophetical inspirations were seen in the exposition of Scripture, because it is that upon which the Apostle's rule proceedeth, ver. 30, "If revelation be made to another sitting by, let the first hold his peace:" meaning, that he that was expounding the Scripture should give way to him to whom the truth of it was revealed upon the instant of time.

Of praying, and praising God by

§ 11. But there is something else besides this belonging to the gift of prophesying as well as of languages. For the Apostle from ver. 14 here, thus writeth: "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with my spirit, but I will pray with understanding also. I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing with understanding also. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the place of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified." It is not so clear how the Apostle here saith, "My spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful," having said afore, "He

<sup>Chap. ii. sect. 13.
1 Ep. ad Corinth. xiv. 4. tom. ii.</sup> col. 156. ed. Ben.

that speaketh in a tongue edifieth himself." For if he that CHAP. 134 hath the gift profiteth in the understanding of the mysteries which the Spirit suggesteth to him in a strange language, how is his understanding unfruitful? Therefore St. Chrysostom b acknowledging this difficulty, yieldeth that some of them which had this grace understood what they said, others not; for thus he writeth upon these words, "He that speaketh in a strange language edifieth himself:" Καὶ πῶς εἰ μὴ οίδεν ά λέγει; άλλα τέως περί των ειδότων α λέγουσι, διαλέγεται. είδότων μεν αυτών, ουκ επισταμένων δε είς ετέρους εξενεγκείν. "And how if he know not what he saith? but thus far he speaketh of those that understand what they say, but know not how to express it to others." But the words of Theodoret are thus in the Greek of Œcumeniusc: Πνεθμα, τὸ πνευματικόν χάρισμα λέγει, νοῦν δὲ, τὴν σαφήνειαν καὶ έρμηνείαν τῶν λεγομένων. That is, "He meaneth by spirit the spiritual grace, but by understanding the declaration and interpretation of things that are spoken." By thus expounding the word vovs, to signify a meaning understood, he seemeth to reconcile the text with that afore, without acknowledging that they understood not what they spake in strange languages. According to which sense, o δè νους μου ἄκαρπός ἐστι beareth this interpretation, "my meaning is fruitless," to wit, to the hearers, not yielding them the fruit required of it: and again, προσεύξομαι τῷ νοί, is, "I will pray in a meaning understood."

135 § 12. Whether the words will bear this meaning or not, let Those that men of learning judge: the thing is probable enough, seeing space the fault which the Apostle findeth, ver. 17, is not that a tongues underman's self is not edified, but, saith he, "another is not edi-stood what fied." And if we follow the intent of the Apostle close, it they said. will easily appear that the purpose of his speech requireth more than that a man himself should understand what he speaketh in an unknown tongue, to wit, that his audience also should understand it. And therefore let who will dispute the proper signification of his words-a thing not so seasonable in this place-so long as the drift and purpose of

b Homil. xxxv. in cap. xiv. 5. to... One tom. iii. p. 191. ed. Sirmond. iii. p. 474. ed. Savil. 1642. Πνευματικόν and έρμηα Œcumen. p. 560. B. Τ not in the text of Theodoret.

CHAP, the argument guideth and overruleth the sense; when he saith, "I will pray and sing with my spirit, I will pray also and sing with understanding," to be this, I will pray and sing by inspiration, but it shall be in a meaning understood, or understandable: according to the words of Theodoret alleged afore, Πνεύμα, τὸ πνευματικὸν χάρισμα λέγει, νοῦν δὲ τὴν σαφήνειαν, καὶ έρμηνείαν τῶν λεγομένων. And it followeth thus: Λέγει δὲ ὅτι προσήκει τὸν έτέρα γλώσση διαλεγόμενον, είτε έπὶ ψαλμωδίας, είτε έπὶ προσευχής, είτε έπὶ διδασκαλίας, ή αὐτὸν έρμηνεύειν (καὶ νοεῖν τὶ λέγει) εἰς ἀφέλειαν τῶν ἀκουόντων, ή έτερον τοῦτο ποιείν δυνάμενον συνεργόν της διδασκαλίας παραλαμβάνεσθαι. "Now he saith, it is fit that he that speaketh in another tongue, whether singing Psalms, or praying, or teaching, should either interpret himself (and understand what he saith) for the benefit of his hearers, or that 136 another should do it, that is sufficient to be taken for an assistant to his doctrine." The words inclosed are added by Œcumenius, desiring to jumble St. Chrysostom's interpretation and Theodoret's into one, which proceed from contrary opinions: for all the rest besides those words is extant in the Latin of Theodoretd, who hath delivered the right of the Apostle's meaning, that it is requisite for him that speaketh tongues to interpret, supposing that he understandeth what he saith.

[Shewn from the records of the Church.]

§ 13. The same sense is expounded by St. Basile, Reg. Brev., Tract. 278, otherwise the nature of this branch of the gift of languages is truly set down by St. Chrysostom f in these words: Καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ χάρισμα εὐχῆς έχουτες πολλοί μετά γλώττης. και ήύχουτο μέν, και ή γλώττα έφθέγγετο, ή τη Περσών, ή τη Ρωμαίων φωνή εὐχομένη, ὁ νοῦς δὲ οὐκ ἤδει τὸ λεγόμενον. "For of old there were many that had the grace of prayer, with that of language. And they prayed, and the tongue praying spake the Persian or Roman language, but the mind knew not what was said." In that he thinketh that he which had the gift understood not what he said, I have shewed for what cause I leave him afore; but in that he saith, "They had a grace of praying with that of lan-

d The Greek text of the Commentaries of Theodoret was published for the first time by Sirmondi in 1642. ^e S. Basil. Opp. om., tom. ii. p. 513.

ed. Ben.

f Hom. xxxv. in cap. xiv. 15, tom. iii. p. 477. ed. Savil.

guages," as a branch of it, it shall further appear how right CHAP. he is afterwards. The more I marvel that the learned Hein--137 siusg of late should so disguise the meaning of this whole passage, in expounding that appurtenance of this gift of languages, whereof the Apostle speaketh here, ver. 13: "Wherefore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray, that he may interpret." The meaning whereof he maketh this: when a man hath spoken in an unknown tongue, let him repeat the sum of it in his prayer afterwards, and so interpret his meaning in a known language. These are some of his words: Siquis ergo, inquit, lingua peregrina usus est, adjungat preces, quibus ante dicta sic interpretetur. Peregrina enim lingua preces si concipiantur, frustrà fit hoc certè, quia non intelliguntur. "If a man have used a strange language, saith the Apostle, let his prayers follow, wherein he may interpret what he said afore. For if prayer be conceived in an unknown tongue, sure it is to no purpose, being not understood." Thus do men sometimes employ their wit and learning to make things obscure that are plain enough when they are let alone. But though, as he saithh, it is now in use in divers Churches to recapitulate the sermon in a prayer after it, yet it concerned him to have shewed us some trace or step of like practice in the writings of the Apostles, or primitive Christians, if he would have us to believe this to be the meaning of the Apostle.

§ 14. Now the Apostle, as he speaketh of praying, so he Interpre-138 speaketh of singing, of blessing, of giving thanks with the tation conspirit and with understanding: these are no dependences of that was spoken in that which was preached afore, therefore neither that praying strange whereof he speaketh here. For you heard what Theodoret said afore: Είτε ἐπὶ προσευχής, είτε ἐπὶ ψαλμωδίας, είτε ἐπὶ διδασκαλίας. "Whether in praying, or in singing psalms, or in teaching." And you shall see what the Apostle saith afterwards, ver. 26, 27: "When ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done to edifying. If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at

languages.

tempore fuisse, ut ea, quæ in exhorta-

tione aut homilia ad populum dicta essent, obiter repeterentur. Quod et in plerisque Ecclesiis nunc tenet. Siquis ergo-as in the text.

g Exercitationes sacræ ad Nov. Test., cap. xi. p. 401. Lugd. Batav. 1639.

Cum usitatum videatur potius eo

doret hath well expressed his meaning, that all things, as well singing of psalms as teaching matter of doctrine,—and Theodoret had cause to add praying, finding it afore, ver. 15,—might be done to the best purpose of edifying, his will is that whatsoever is spoken in any of those kinds in a strange language, be interpreted by one, whether the same that spoke already, or another that had the gift to do it.

They prayed and studied for spiritual graces.

§ 15. In fine, to make appear that the Apostle when he saith, ver. 13, "let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret," intendeth that he should pray for the gift of interpreting that which he was inspired to speak in a strange language, it shall here be declared that the Apostle directeth them to labour after these graces by 139 their prayers as well as by their studies, or what means else they could address to God for the attaining of them. That which we saw practised by the disciples of prophets under the Old Testament, that we shall see prescribed by the Apostle under the New, when he saith, 1 Cor. xii. 31, "But be zealous of the best gifts." And 1 Cor. xiv. 1, "Be zealous of spiritual gifts." And again, ver. 13, "Let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret." Where St. Chrysostomi: Ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ον τὸ λαβεῖν τὸ χάρισμα. προσευχέσθω γάρ, φησι, τουτέστι, τὰ παρ' έαυτοῦ είσαγέσθω, καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν σπουδαίως αἰτήσης, λήψη. "Here he sheweth that it is in them to receive the grace. For, 'let him pray,' saith he, that is, 'let him contribute that which is required at his hands,' for if thou ask studiously, thou shalt receive it." When he expoundeth "let him pray" to be, 'let him contribute what is required from him,' he meaneth that zeal and study which is spoken of in the other places; of which you have again, ver. 39, "Be zealous," or studious "of prophesying, and forbid not to speak with tongues:" and 1 Thess. v. 20, "Despise not prophesying." The like you shall find in St. Chrysostomk upon 1 Cor. xii. 31, and the commentaries under St. Ambrose's1 name upon 1 Cor. xiv. 32, "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets." Idcirco dixit 'subjectus est prophetis,' ut ingenia accenderet hac 140

¹ Homil. xxxv. in cap. xiv. 15. tom. ii. p. 476, ed. Savil.

k Homil. xxxii. tom. iii. p. 451. ¹ Tom. ii. col. 159. ed. Ben.

spe, quòd Spiritus conatus adjuvet. "Therefore he saith 'is sub- CHAP.
ject to the prophets,' to encourage wits with hope that the Spirit—
helpeth their endeavours:" and by and by he draweth to this
purpose the words of the Apostle, "For they drank of the spiritual Rock that followed them," and addeth, Hoc est et subjectum esse, quod et sequi. Ita et Spiritus subjectus dicitur,
ut conatus bonos adjuvet, cùm suggerit. Subjectus enim videtur
qui cæpta alterius perficit. "For to be subject, is the same as
to follow. So the Spirit is said to be subject, because of His
help to good endeavours, when He bringeth them to pass.
For he that bringeth another's undertakings to effect, seemeth
to be subject."

§ 16. This is not to allow this meaning of the Apostle's words, which I shall shew afterwards to be otherwise: but to take notice what impression of this truth they received from the places alleged. And you shall find the same authors, to let pass others, expounding the Apostle's words, Rom. xii. 3, 6, no otherwise. "According as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith and whether prophesying according to the proportion of faith." St. Ambrose m, Hace ergò datur pro modo accipientis, hoc est, quantum causa exigit, propter quam datur. "This, therefore," that is, prophecy, "is given according to the measure of him that receiveth; that is, as much as the cause requireth, in respect whereof it is bestowed." And St. Character R. E. and whether are larger.

141 it is bestowed." And St. Chrysostomⁿ, Eì γὰρ καὶ χάρις ἐστὶν, ἀλλὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐκχεῖται ἀλλὰ τὰ μέτρα παρὰ τῶν δεχομένων λαμβάνουσα, τοσοῦτον ἐπιρρεῖ, ὅσον ᾶν εὕρη σκεῦος πίστεως αὐτῆ προσενεχθέν. "For though it be a grace, it is not indifferently poured forth. But taking the measure from them which receive it, floweth upon them in measure as it findeth the vessel of faith offered," understanding that faith which moveth men to sue to God for such graces, as he saith, "pray that he may interpret." And this is it which the Apostle writeth to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 13, 14, "Till I come give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." And 2 Tim. i. 6, "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance

m Tom. ii. col. 95. u Homil, xxi. in F

tom. iii. ed. Savil.

CHAP. that thou stir up the gift of God that is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." For in calling it a "gift," he signifieth an extraordinary grace of that time: but in willing him "to stir it up," and not to neglect it, he sheweth that it was in him to procure it at God's hands, by reading, and teaching, and praying, and the like means which he nameth, or nameth not.

[The § 17. The true meaning then of the Apostle and Apostle's meaning.] saith, ver. 14—17, "For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my meaning.] saith, ver. 14—17, "For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my meaning.] spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, but I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, but I will sing with the understanding also: else when thou shalt bless with 142 the spirit, how shall he that possesseth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified:" I say the meaning of this whole passage supposeth that which we began to prove of the prophets under the Old Testament, that it was part of their office to compose the praises of God, and the prayers of their congregationso. For if we take not our marks amiss, we shall see that the strength of our advantage upon these words against the Church of Rome lieth in this, because the Apostle argueth expressly against them that, to shew their gift of languages, took upon them not only to utter the mysteries of God in strange tongues, but also in them to conceive prayers and psalms of God's praises, in the name and behalf of the Church. This they are desirous to decline if the Apostle would give leave. For that which he saith, ver. 17, "another is not edified," is as much as we find, ver. 5 and ver. 12, "that the Church may be edified," and ver. 19, "In the Church I had rather speak five words to teach others," and the Apostle afterwards, ver. 26, "What is it then, my brethren? when you come together every one of you hath a psalm."

Prophesying in St. Paul

§ 18. And to this purpose it will be very effectual to observe, that as in the Old Testament Saul and his servant are said 143 to meet a whole choir of prophets prophesying, and the sons of Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun, are said to prophesy in singing the praises of God which the spirits of prophets had

inditedp; so in the New Testament, for the same cause, it CHAP. seemeth that singing the praises of God is called "prophesying" by the Apostle. For let me ask what the Apostle meaneth when he saith, 1 Cor. xi. 5, "Every woman praying or prophesying with her head uncovered:" his speech concerning Christian assemblies, wherein he forbiddeth a woman to speak, 1 Cor. xiv. 34? Is it that which the Italian gloss of Diodati after Beza hath expounded? "It seemeth," saith he, "this word is to be taken here not only for handling or expounding the mysteries of the word of God, as Rom. xii. 6, but also for hearing them, marking them, meditating upon them while they are proposed of those that have the charge." This cannot be allowed. Praying is the party's own act, why not prophesying, that standeth in rank with it? The commentaries under St. Ambrose's a name, Prophetare autem est, adventum fore Domini voce symboli post orationem effari. "To prophesy is to pronounce in the words of the Creed that the Lord shall come." The Creed was pronounced by the whole congregation; this he thinketh was called "prophesy-144 ing," because it speaketh of the coming of Christ which shall be. I bring not this because I allow it-for it is somewhat strange to make all people prophets that say their Creed, because one article of it speaketh of things to come: besides, I do not find that the Creed was from the beginning any part of the Church service -but because he saw the true point of the difficulty,-that hearing prophecies was no prophesying, but it must be something that the congregation uttereth, as well as in praying, which the Apostle calleth "prophesying:" and what doth the whole congregation send forth but prayers and psalms? In both these, as near as can be, the people bear their part: the whole pack of prophets prophesied together when Saul, and his servant, and his messengers came, because they all joined in the praises of God, Samuel guiding the choirs: when the Spirit of God came on them, they uttered the praises of God which the Spirit of God suggested, the rest bearing part in their sense.

P 1 Sam. x. 5, 10; 1 Chron. xxv. 2—8.
 In 1 Ep. ad Corinth. xi. 4 tom.
 ii. col. 147. ed. Ben.

Gavantus is of opinion that the Apostles' Creed was sung in the ser-

vice, initio Ecclesia, until it was changed for the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan. —Thesaur. Sacr. Rit. Par. i. tit. xi. de Symbolo, p. 95. Aug. Vindel. 1763. * 1 Sam. xix. 20—24.

CHAP.
V.

[So understood by Isidore,]

§ 19. Isidore Pelusiota, lib. i. epist. 90t, Τὰς ἐν ἐκκλη-- σίαις φλυαρίας καταπαῦσαι βουλόμενοι οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόστολοι, και της ήμων παιδευταί καταστάσεως, ψάλλειν έν αὐταίς τάς γυναίκας συνετώς συνεχώρησαν. "The Apostles of our Lord, and teachers of our orders, desirous to suppress idle talking in churches, understandingly permitted women to sing in them." I know there are other texts of the Apostle, where he speaketh in general to all persons to sing psalms; 14: Eph. v. 18, 19, "Be filled with the Spirit: speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs: singing and making melody in your hearts unto God." And Col. iii. 16, "Teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs: singing with grace in your hearts unto God:" yet with good right are these words referred to no place but this, because express mention of women singing in assemblies we find none but here. If any man thinketh that Isidore in those words reflecteth not upon any thing delivered in writing by the Apostles, but on the custom which the Church received at their hands, it must needs nevertheless seem the most probable sense of St. Paul's words, which maketh them agree with that custom, which, he saith, the Church received from the Apostles.

[And Tertullian.]

§ 20. Tertullian de Virg. Velandis, cap. xvii., Quantam autem castigationem merebuntur etiam illæ, quæ inter psalmos, vel in quacunque Dei mentione, retectæ perseverant? meritóne etiam in oratione ipsa facillimè fimbriam, aut villum, aut quodlibet filum cerebro superponunt, et tectas se opinantur? "But what reproof shall even they deserve, that continue unveiled in singing psalms, or in any mention of God? have they reason in their very prayers, at their best ease to lay a fringe, or thrum, or any thread upon the brain, and think themselves veiled?" here you have the two particulars of psalms and 146 prayers expressed, which the Apostle calleth "praying" and "prophesying," with the reason of reverence at the mention of God, to enforce his purpose, that they ought not to content themselves with no veil at psalms, or with a slight one at prayers. And afterwards", Oportet ergò omni tempore et omni loco memores Legis incedere, paratas et instructas ad omnem Dei mentionem, qui si fuerit in pectore, cognoscetur et in capite fæmi-

¹ Isidor. Opp. p. 29. Paris, 1638. ¹¹ Ib., p. 315. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662,

§ 21. And as for the prayers of the Church, we have a prayers singular passage in the Apostle, Rom. viii. 26, to the best of of the my judgment to be understood to this purpose; "And the conceived by imme-Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what to diate inpray for as we ought, but the Spirit maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered." For what is it that the Apostle calls "the first-fruits of the Spirit," ver. 23 there afore, but the flower and cream of those spiritual graces whereof the Apostle writeth all this while to the Corinthians? And when he saith, "we know not what we should pray for

us, with groanings which cannot be uttered." For what is it that the Apostle calls "the first-fruits of the Spirit," ver. 23 there afore, but the flower and cream of those spiritual graces whereof the Apostle writeth all this while to the Corinthians? And when he saith, "we know not what we should pray for 147 as we ought," true it is we are sufficiently informed what we are to pray for in the Scripture, but seeing the purpose of the Scripture in general is not so perfectly understood by all persons, much less the exigence of it duly pointed in particular, it is no marvel if we believe that the inspiration of the Holy Ghost is able far better to inform us what we are to pray for, even at our assemblies, when we see the Apostle himself pray for the goad in the flesh to be removed, which God thought not fit to be granted. But when he saith, "the Spirit maketh intercession for us," we know first that by the Spirit the Apostle in this subject continually understandeth the inspirations of it, as hath been observed afore*: we know again what endless debate and difficulties the sense of these words breedeth, and what better course have we to end them than by understanding in these words the intercessions which the Holy Ghost inspireth? and those "unutterable groans of the Spirit," whose mind "He that searcheth the heart trieth," ver. 27, "and findeth that it maketh intercession for the saints, according to God," what are they else but those desires which the Spirit inspireth to them which have the first fruits of it, causing them to groan within themselves, "waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of

§ 22. For as men inspired were not able to express the

the body," as it went afore, ver. 23.

[Shewn from St. Chrysos-tom.]

CHAP, vehemence of the desires they were inspired with, no more 148 were they able to comprehend the meaning of them, the depth of things inspired being sounded by Him alone that indited the same. This exposition is St. Chrysostom's, who hath delivered us the ground of it for historical truth, upon the place, telling us that there was no less peculiar an inspiration to pray, at that time, than there was to foretell things to come, to cure diseases, to do miracles, to speak strange languages. Μετά δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων, ἢν καὶ εὐχῆς χάρισμα δ καὶ αὐτὸ Πνεθμα ἐλέγετο, καὶ ὁ τοθτο ἔχων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ηὕχετο. ἐπειδή γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν συμφερόντων ήμιν άγνοουντες, τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα αἰτουμεν, ήρχετο χάρισμα εύχης είς ένα τινά των τότε, καὶ τὸ κοινή συμφέρον τής έκκλησίας άπάσης, αὐτός τε ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἴστατο αἰτών, καὶ τους άλλους ἐπαίδευε. "With all these," saith he, "there was also a grace of prayer, which was also called a spirit,"-as the spirit of knowledge, the spirit of wisdom, and the like, that is, the spiritual gift of it,-"and he that had this prayed for all the multitude. For because, not knowing many of those things that are good for us, we desire those that are not,"-as here it is said we know not what to ask for as we ought,-"the grace of prayer came upon some man then, and he stood up to desire in the name of all that which was good for the Church in common, and taught others to do it." And again, ὁ γὰρ τοιαύτης καταξιωθείς χάριτος έστως μετά πολλής της κατανύξεως, μετά πολλών των στεναγμών, των κατά διάνοιαν, τῶ Θεῷ προσπιπτων, τὰ συμφέροντα πᾶσιν αἰτεῖ οὖ καὶ νῦν σύμβολόν ἐστιν ὁ διάκονος, τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ἀναφέρων 149 εὐχάς. "For he that was vouchsafed this grace, standing with much compunction, with many groans, such as prostrate a man in mind before God, asketh such things as are good for all. Correspondent whereto now is the deacon, when he offereth to God the prayers for the people."

The near-

§ 23. The opinion and relation of this most excellent man races of the at expounding the Scripture, going so clear with the words prophesy- of the Apostle, maketh this beyond question with me to be languages, the meaning of the Apostle, which shall afterwards get still more credit by the proffer which shall be made, of designing the kind and nature of these prayers and thanksgivings,

7 Homil. xiv. in Rom. viii, 26. p. 120. tom. iii, ed. Savil.

whereof the Apostle speaketh here, to have been the same CHAP. that the Church hath practised in all ages since. And, these things supposed, the meaning of the Apostle, in the passage which we are in hand with, sufficiently sheweth, that as these which were endowed with the grace of languages did not stick to do those things—to utter the praises of God, the prayers and thanksgiving of the people at their assemblies in unknown tongues—to make show of their gift which he forbiddeth: so those that had the grace of prophesying did and are directed to do the like for the benefit of the congregation in all particulars whereof he speaketh.

§ 24. These things thus cleared, give us full assurance of 150 the kindred between these two kinds of graces, of languages and prophesying, by the limbs and branches of the offices expected from both: and that by consequence all these prophetical graces were of immediate inspiration, as much as that of languages, which the Apostle coming up to his first purpose in this whole discourse-which was to regulate the use of both kinds of these graces at their assembliesfurther declareth in recapitulating those offices of both, ver. 27, which he thinketh fit to remember there. His words are these, ver. 26: "How is it then brethren? when ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation: let all things be done to edifying." Tongues and interpretations of them, it is plain, belong to none but those that have that grace; revelations are specified afore to be a kind of prophesying, but there is no reason to convince that they might not be suggested in strange languages: psalms it is plain by that which went afore, were uttered in strange languages, but the Apostle prescribeth to do it in the known tongue, as an office of prophesying. Of doctrines the like must be said as of revelations.

§ 25. In fine, the reason which moves the Apostle to allow speaking in strange tongues in the Church—provided there be one to interpret, because the matters so uttered are for 151 the edifying of it—is enough to prove that the substance of things uttered by both graces was not unlike; and therefore those rules also, in which the Apostle concludeth, serve to aver the difference and agreement observed between the two

CHAP. kinds of graces, speaking as they do to two heads, one of languages, the other of prophesying. The sum of them being the same that was proposed in the beginning of the chapter: for there we read, "desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy;" and here in the conclusion we read, ver. 39, "covet to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues." Commending the one without limitation, permitting the other with a caveat of one to interpret. The same is the meaning of his rule to the Thessalonians, 1 Ep. v. 19, 20: "Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophesying." The one part advising to maintain all spiritual graces, by allowing the orderly use of them at their assemblies; the other in particular to esteem aright of prophesying above the rest, which the Apostle expresseth in terms of abatement, charging not to despise it. Before I take in hand the meaning of these rules in particular, be it observed, that these things which were delivered at their assemblies, in the use of both kinds of graces, were not conceived upon the instant, but ready provided afore: for within these terms the Apostle's words will conclude us, when he saith, ver. 26, "When ye come together every one 152 of you hath a psalm," &c., which is, that they came provided of what they intended there to declare, as appeareth by that part of the rule that concerneth prophesying, ver. 29, 30: "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge: if revelation be made to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." Where the difference is manifest between that which was suggested at the instant, and that which was conceived afore.

The ground and mean-Apostle's rule.

§ 26. Now whereas the principle upon which the Apostle proceedeth is the edification of the people, as he saith, ver. 26, "Let all be done to edifying;" well are we assured that it was for the edification of the Church to understand what the Spirit suggested to them that spake in strange languages, concerning the praises of God and the mysteries of His kingdom. It was for their edification indeed, but not so much as the knowledge of the Scripture, which consisteth not of revelation for the time, but is intended for the perpetual instruction of God's people. Therefore the Apostle's will is, that two or three speak with tongues, and another interpret, not to take up that time which the exposition of

Scripture required, ver. 27. St. Ambrose upon those words: CHAP. Ideo ergo, 'ut multum, tres,' nè occuparent diem linguis loquentes, et interpretes illorum; et non haberent prophetæ tempus Scriptu-153 ras disserendi, qui sunt totius Ecclesiæ illuminatores. "Therefore, three at the most, and him that interpreteth them, that they should not spend the day in speaking languages, so that the prophets, which are the enlighteners of the whole Church, should not have time to expound the Scriptures." The Holy Ghost was dispensed among men that were converted to the faith, for their assistance in understanding the Scriptures, which always was their business. They began straight, as the use was under the Old Testament, to train others to the same knowledge. The Apostle's rule supposeth no less, ver. 29, 30: "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If revelation be made to one that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." The whole words of St. Ambrose touched afore": Hæc traditio synagogæ est quam nos vult sectari-quia Christianis quidem scribit, sed ex Gentibus factis, non ex Judæis-ut sedentes disputent, seniores dignitate in cathedris, sequentes in subselliis, novissimi in pavimento super mattas: quibus si revelatum fuerit, dandum locum dicendi præcipit, nec despiciendos; quia membra corporis sunt. "It is a tradition of the synagogue which he would have us to follow,-for he writeth to Christians, but converted, not from the Jews, but from the Gentiles,-to dispute sitting, the eldest in dignity in chairs, the next on seats, the last on matted floors. To whom if revelation were made, he commandeth that room 154 to speak be allowed, not despising them, as members of the

§ 27. The inspiration of the Holy Ghost was not always present with prophets; they spake in exposition of the Scripture, out of that which the Spirit formerly had suggested. Most like it is that the inspirations of the Holy Ghost should possess one or other of them which had the grace, in the time and place of Divine Service: for you saw afore, ver. 24, how the revelation of secrets was wont to be infused upon them at that time when unbelievers came into their assemblies. If any such thing came to pass, the Apostle's will is, though he were of a mean rank among the disciples of pro-

¹ Tom. ii. col. 158, ed. Ben.

^{*} Chap. iii. sect. 12.

CHAP. phets, he should be allowed to speak. For let no man think that the Apostle here alloweth all members of the Church to speak in public; in that the pretended St. Ambrose seemeth to mistake, admitting those whom he describeth sitting on the floor to speak. For he that was inspired without peradventure sat not upon the floor, but among the prophets.

It proceedeth of none but prophets.

§ 28. The words of the Apostle are general, when he saith, ver. 31, "For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted." But this speech all this while concerneth not the congregation, but those that have the gifts of prophesying and speaking with languages. And men of learning know that general words are to be confined 155 to the particular argument of the speech. Besides, the Apostle hath made the difference himself, when he saith, ver. 16, "How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks?" 'Ο ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ίδιώτου, he that sitteth in the place of a private person without learning, is so named in difference to those that professed themselves teachers; if he should stand up and teach, this difference which the Apostle maketh would be quite abolished. He forbiddeth a woman to speak in the Church whatsoever be her graces, were she one of Philip's daughters the prophetessesb: he alloweth not all men to speak, but such whose graces were known and discerned, of whom all the discourse hitherto proceedeth.

§ 29. Now the matter in question is this: it is plain that the gift of languages came by immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost: and it is plain that many particulars of the gift of prophesying did likewise, as the foretelling of things to come called "prophesying," ver. 6, the knowledge of men's secrets, the understanding of the Scripture, and of matters debated upon it, ver. 25 and 30, the praises of God and the prayers of the congregation, which were inspired in strange languages, as it is said, ver. 14, "My spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful;" and therefore were no less in-156 spired to them of whom the Apostle, ver. 15, "I will pray and sing with the Spirit, and with understanding." In fine, there is no cause to make doubt that all the particulars through this whole chapter, ranged under the general grace

b Acts xxi. 9.

of prophesying, are by him understood to proceed from men CHAP. endued with immediate inspirations. And therefore the question will be, what is his meaning in that which followeth, ver. 32, "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets;" for on the one side, when he saith, "the spirits of the prophets," the word "spirits" in this subject hath always signified inspirations, true or pretended: on the other side, the inspirations of the Holy Ghost are not to be subject, are not to be judged as ver. 29, though it be by prophets. The meaning of these words give me leave thus to debate.

§ 30. St. Ambrose thinketh that when it is said, "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," a reason is given for the rule which commandeth to speak by turns, and to give way to him that is inspired upon the instant, ver. 29 and 30, to shew that this they might well do, because they were not so inspired by the Holy Ghost as to be transported to speak whether they would or not, but that it was in them to moderate, as it was in them to procure the influence of it, according to his words produced aforec. In this 157 sense the spirits of prophets are subject to the prophets themselves. But though we grant that men's particular endeavours were means to attain the grace of immediate inspirations, as was provedd, yet we are not therefore bound to grant that it was in them to be inspired at their pleasure. In the Old Testament it is saide, "that the Spirit of the Lord came upon Saul and his servants:" and Jer. xlii. 7, "After ten days the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah," having undertaken to pray for the revealing of the will of God to them before: from whence the Hebrew doctors collect, that he could not obtain the grace in the meantime: Maimoni Fundam. Legis, vii. 5, and the late Annotations theref.

§ 31. Besides, this sense is impertinent to the Apostle's what is purpose; who when he saith, ver. 29, "Let the prophets to be judged speak two or three, and let the others judge," speaketh of in that which things brought from home, and conceived afore the time prophets of meeting, as you may see, ver. 26, "When you come to-

Rabbi Mosis. F. Majemonidis. latine redditæ per Gulielmum Vorstium. p. 96. Amstelod. 1638.

c Sect. 15.

d In chap. ii. sect. 20-23.

¹ Sam, xix. 20-24.

Constitutiones de fundamentis Legis

CHAP. gether every one of you hath a psalm," and so forth. But when he saith, ver. 30, "If revelation be made to another as he sitteth, let the first hold his peace," he speaketh of that which is inspired at the instant of time. And therefore it seemeth more reasonable to conceive that the Apostle, when he saith, ver. 31, "ye may all prophesy one by one," rendereth a reason for what he had said in commanding them to speak by turns, that all might contribute to the edification 158 of the Church, as it followeth there, "that all may learn, and all may be comforted:" but when he addeth, "And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," he rendereth a reason for what he said in commanding the others to judge, because if some should not yield to the judgment of others, the confusion and unquietness ensuing hereupon might be imputed to the ordinance of God. Theodoretg, after St. Chrysostom: Ità Jesus subjiciebatur Mosi, ità Elizœus Eliæ, ità ipsi Elizœo multitudo prophetarum, ità ipsi Apostolo Timotheus, et Titus, et reliqui. "So was Joshua subject to Moses, so Eliseus to Elias, so a number of prophets to Eliseus, so Timothy, Titus, and the rest, to the Apostle." And this sense Calvin embracethh. According to which, the judgment whereof the Apostle speaketh-if we conceive it to concern immediate inspirations-must not be understood to call them to account, as for the truth of that which the Holy Ghost inditeth, but to consist in judging the meaning and consequence of things inspired, which even the persons from whom they came-though not ignorant throughout, as not bereft of their senses and understanding in prophesyingyet were not able themselves to sound to the bottom.

[Instances of such judging in the Old Testament.]

§ 32. Do we not see the Prophet Daniel, ix. 2, studying about the seventy years which the Prophet Jeremiah had 159 foretold for the desolations of Jerusalem, whereupon he prayeth and obtaineth the revelation of the seventy weeks? and the Apostle, 1 Pet. i. 10, 11, expressly affirmeth that the ancient prophets, who prophesied of salvation by Christ, searched and inquired diligently about it, and the time of it, whereof the Spirit within them prophesied. And to shew that it was no otherwise with them that were endued with

g Comm, in 1 ad Corinth, xiv. 32. h In loco. p. 193, ed. Sirmond. Paris, 1642.

like spiritual graces under the New Testament, it is to be CHAP. observed with what earnest obtestations the Apostle dealeth with the Thessalonians, 2 Ep. ii. 2, not to be troubled as if the day of Christ were at hand, either by spirit, or by word, or by letter as from us. For if the Spirit spake it, how are they otherwise to be persuaded? Is it because the Apostle speaketh of pretended inspirations? so it is said indeed, but them he had instructed them to discern, 1 Thess. v. 21. How then shall we think that the Apostle beseecheth them not to be moved with that which the Spirit spake, but as it might be a meaning collected out of words spoken by some man that had such graces? and therefore in 1 Tim. iv. 1, the Apostle thus writeth, Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἡητῶς λέγει, "The Spirit speaketh expressly," saith the Apostle, making that a different thing from the meaning apprehended, 160 or collected from things which the Spirit spake,

§ 33. And to my apprehension we have an eminent instance [In the hereof in the Apostle himself, who having had a revelation, Acts xix. 21, by which he "purposed in the Spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, after I have been there, I must also see Rome;" under this resolution writeth to the Romans in that epistle dated not long afterwards, xv. 23, "that he had now no place in those parts:" and to the elders of Ephesus not long after that thus speaketh, Acts xx. 25, "I know that ye all among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." All which nevertheless, being afterwards at Rome, he writeth to the Philippians from thence, ii. 24, "that he hopeth to come to them shortly." And to Philemon, in the parts of Asia, about the same time, ver. 22, "to prepare him a lodging, as hoping to be granted to them through their prayers:" things which can noways stand with that which he had written afore, that he had no longer place in those parts; and that the Ephesians should see him no more: and all this no more inconvenience in the Apostle than this, that upon his revelation he conceived God had appointed that which afterwards, upon the success of his affairs, he was in hope would come to pass otherwise: nor

i Spiritus nomine fictas prophetias ii. 2. So also Beza on the place. intelligit.—Calvin. Comm. in 2 Thess.

CHAP, more inconvenience that this should be related in Scripture, 161 than that the speeches of Job's friends should have a place in it, of whom it is said, [chap. xlii. 7,] "They have not spoken aright of Me as My servant Job hath done." If this please not, or if it seem not general enough, to satisfy the meaning of the Apostle's words, it may be said in larger terms, that all that which the prophets by help of human discourse conceived and uttered for and in their public assemblies, upon the grounds of their particular revelations, is here called the "spirits of the prophets." Which therefore must needs be sub-

ject to the judgment of other prophets.

§ 34. Thus then, when the Apostle willeth the others to judge of that which two or three prophets shall say, as he appointeth at their meetings, his meaning is, not only of that which by the way of common reason and ordinary skill shall be said in exposition of the Scripture; but even those things which are spoken by inspiration, which he calleth "the spirits of the prophets," he will have subject to the judgment of the prophets, so far as concerneth the meaning and consequence of them, to be measured by the rest of the Scriptures. And to this purpose it seemeth he ordereth the use of those spiritual graces which are poured upon this Church of Corinth in such abundance, that it was hard to find a course for all of them to employ their gifts so, that all might have opportunity by turns, if not at the same meeting, to use their grace in prophesying, that the Church might be edified by it; and that others might by the gift of discerning spirits judge the meaning of those things that were spoken by the Spirit, so that the Church might receive no such offence as that which the Thessalonians did, in conceiving from things that were spoken by the Spirit, that the day of the Lord was at hand 162 at that time. Though it is nevertheless to be thought that this course, of speaking by many at the same assembly, was practised in the synagogue, especially when divers scribes and doctors were present; as also some traces of the same custom have continued in the practice of the Church.

The cus-

§ 35. Beza expounding the words of the Apostle, I Cor. tom in the trimitise xi. 10, "Therefore ought a woman to have power over her head because of the Angels," to be meant of the ministers of preaching Churches: Utitur autem plurali numero, quòd in maxima dono-

rum Dei abundantia, non tantum apud Corinthios, ut apparet CHAP. infrà, xiv. 39, sed etiam olim in aliis Ecclesiis, non unus solus, atthesame sed etiam bini et terni in cætibus sacris sermonem haberent, ut assembly de præclaris aliis plurimis donis taceam, de quibus noster Apo- hence. stolus infrà, xiv. 26. Quod etiam liquet ex Tertulliani Apologetico, et quibusdam in Antiochena Ecclesia Chrysostomi Homiliis. "Now he speaketh in the plural number, because for the abundance of God's graces, not only amongst the Corinthians, as appeareth beneath, xiv. 39, but also in other Churches of old time, not one alone, but two or three spake at religious assemblies. Which also appeareth by Tertullian's Apologetic, and some Homilies of Chrysostom in the Church of Antiochia." Tertull, Apolog. cap. xxxix. : Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam 163 præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. "Certainly with these holy words we nourish faith, we erect our hope, we fasten our confidence; as much we compact our discipline, repeating the rules of it. There also exhortations, reproofs, and the censure of God:" speaking of reading and expounding the Scriptures in their assemblies. Whether or no these be the words which he meaneth, I know not; I find nothing else in that book to the purpose.

§ 36. But it is clear which he saith of St. Chrysostom. In Ferrarius De ritu Concionum, ii. 40, you shall find the passages of his Homilies marked, in which he signifieth that the Bishop was to preach when he had donek. And in one passage related out of him in Baronius, Ann. lvii. n. 1601, he testifieth in express terms that this custom of the Church was but a figure and monument of those graces which had flourished in the primitive. Adding further, that when the preacher blessed, or, as they call it, saluted the people at his beginning with these or the like words, "The Lord be with you," the people answering-as the fashion was-which yet

άρχεται, άλλά σημεῖα ταῦτα μόνον ἐστιν έκείνων και ύπομνηματα, διο έπειδαν άρξώμεθα λέγειν, ὁ λαὸς ἀντιφθέγγεται, Τῷ πνεύματί σου, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὅτως ἔλεγον, οὐκ οἰκεία σοφία, ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι κινούμενοι.—Homil. 36. in 1 ad Corinth. xiv. ad fin. p. 487. tom.

^{*} These and others are cited by Bingham, Antiq. book xiv. c. 4. sect. 6.

1 Eccles. Annal., tom. i. Ann. lvii. n.

^{162.}ed. Lucæ. The passage of St. Chrysostom is as follows: Νῦν τὰ σύμβολα κατέχομεν τῶν χαρισμάτων ἐκείνων μό-νον' καὶ γὰρ καὶ νῖιν δύο ἡ τρεῖς λέγομεν, και ἀνὰ μερος, και ἐτέρου σιγῶντος ἔτερος

CHAP. remaineth in one place of our service-"And with thy spirit:" the meaning of this answer had reference to the spiritual inspired grace out of which they were known to speak at the beginning. Gregory Nyssene, Είς την έαυτοῦ χειροτοvlav, Nè igitur longiùs vobis, fratres, sermonis exordium protra-164 hamus, cum mirificis corum qui ante nos dixerunt orationibus operam dederitis m. "Therefore, brethren, not to draw you out the beginning of my speech too much in length, having taken pains to hear the admirable sermons of those that have spoken before me." But of all the rest the book called the Constitutions of the Apostles most in particular, ii. 57, Kal έξης παρακαλείτωσαν οι πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λαὸν, ὁ καθεῖς αὐτῶν, άλλα μη απαντες, και τελευταίος πάντων ο επίσκοπος, ως " εοικε κυβερνήτη· "Then," saith he—when the Gospel is read— "let the presbyters exhort the people one by one, not all at once, and after all the Bishop, as it is fitting for the master to do." For here you see how the order of the Apostle was sometimes practised in the Church when the Bishop preached in the last place, after one or more of the presbyters.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTS OF THAT WORK OF GOD'S SERVICE FOR WHICH CHRISTIANS ASSEMBLE. PSALMS OF GOD'S PRAISES PART OF THE SUBSTANCE OF IT. THE GROUND AND EFFICACY OF COMMON PRAYERS. READING THE SCRIPTURES A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF PUBLIC SERVICE. THE NECESSITY AND EXCELLENCE OF PREACHING FOR EXPOUNDING THE SCRIPTURES. THE EUCHARIST THE CHIEF PART OF PUBLIC SERVICE. THE APOSTLE'S 160 RULE OF ORDER AND COMELINESS. THE FORCE OF CUSTOM IN PRESERV-ING ORDER, AND OF REASON IN JUDGING OF COMELINESS. ALL PRAC-TICE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH PRESCRIBETH NOT TO US. CORRE-SPONDENCE WITH IT NECESSARY. THE PRACTICE OF IT, IN THE POINT IN HAND, OF WHAT ADVANTAGE. ORDER OF PUBLIC SERVICE A LAW OF CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS. DIRECTION OF MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH REQUISITE. THE OBLIGATION OF 1T, AGREEMENT OF THE CHIEF REFORMERS.

The parts of that work of God's ser-vice for

Thus far then have we travelled in the first part of our business propounded, inquiring the Apostle's meaning in this whole discourse, intended to regulate the use of spiritual

m Quoted from Ferrarius. Οὐκ οὖν ἐπλουτήσατε.—S. Greg. Nyssen. Opp., μηκύνωμεν ὑμῦν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ προοίμιον, ἐνασχολούμενοι τῷ θαύματι τῶν προλαπ δε, in the text of Cotelerius. βόντων, ήδη κεκορεσμένοι έστε, ήδη

graces proper to that time in their assemblies, by comparing the particulars of it with that which is found remembered in the Scriptures to the like purpose. How wide soever these things may be thought from my intent—as having nothing to do with the particulars which the Apostle here ordereth—to me it shall seem a great gain for the pains bestowed here, that from hence we may collect the substance of those things which are to be done at the religious assemblies of Christians—the particulars of that work for which we assemble ourselves; which are no other, according to the 166 Apostle, than our common service expresseth in the entrance to it, "to set forth His most worthy praise, to hear His most holy word"—which must be understood according

to the purpose and opportunities of several assemblies, either read or expounded, as the meaning of it hath always been declared by practice—"and to ask those things which be requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul." The same hath Tertullian expressed to have been the business of the primitive Christians at their assemblies, De Anim. cap. ix.: o Jam verò, prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur, ità indè materiæ visionibus subministrantur. "Now, as the Scriptures are read, or Psalms sung, or exhortations produced, or

prayers preferred, so is matter ministered to her visions."

§ 2. In his Apologetic, chap. xxxix., and in Justin Martyr's first Apology where they describe to the powers of the empire what the Christians did at their assemblies—of singing Psalms there is no remembrance, the rest are the same particulars. There can be no question made that their practice was derived from the Apostles, when we consider how much this discourse of the Apostle inferreth, in which we have seen the Psalms and the prayers which those, that were endued with spiritual graces, composed and conceived on the behalf of the Church, as hath been shewed the where never167 theless he hath expressed the part that particular persons bear, when he saith, "Every man or woman praying or pro-

phesying," that is, singing of Psalms, as hath been declared afore. In like sort, whatsoever rules he giveth to order the

O See note y, chap. v. sect. 9.

See Prim. Govern., chap. vii.

THORNDIKE.

CHAP. course of prophesying among them, proceed from supposition of reading the Scriptures afore, to the exposition whereof he willeth them to contribute the fruit of their graces. And this in the first place I make account to be gained without contradiction from this discourse of the Apostle, that all these are substantial parts of that work for which we go to church; all of them principals, none of them accessories, in it.

Psalms of

- § 3. The setting forth of God's praises in Psalms of thanksgiving you shall see to be that part of moral and perpetual part of the service, the order whereof is most particularly remembered in the Old Testament in Solomon's temple. As the sacrifice was burning upon the Altar, and the wine-offering pouring out on it, and the priests blowing with the trumpets in the court of the sanctuary, which was their ceremonial and figurative service, in the mean time the Levites stood upon their pulpits in the outer courts where the men or women of Israel were licensed to come, singing the psalms of God's praises. Times of their assemblies were prescribed by the law of Moses, as you have seen's, but no order for any particular 168 work of spiritual service to be performed at them is there remembered. Not to make a doubt that other offices were frequented, together with the exposition of the law, as the custom and opportunity served; but to shew that the psalms of God's praises, for the ordinary daily practice whereof such express order was taken and remembered, must by no means be reckoned of the by, but of the main of God's public service.
 - § 4. And if we should go further to shew that this was no personal service of the Levites alone, but of the whole congregation of God's people assembled there; and that it is so acceptable with God in this regard, because His praise appeareth more glorious when His people join together in setting it forth, we might produce a great part of the book of Psalms, wherein David and other persons, inspired by the Holy Ghost, have either expressed or stirred up the affections of the whole congregation to that work, and recommended the service of God which it yieldeth. Psalm xxxiv. 3, "O magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt His name together." cxlix. 1, "O sing unto the Lord a new song, and His praise in the congregation of the saints." lxxxiv. 4, "Blessed

are they that dwell in Thine house, they will be still praising Thee." He commendeth the condition of priests and Levites,

169 but he desireth as far as he can to make it his own. cxvii.

when he singeth, "O praise God all ye people, praise Him all ye nations;" the Apostle sheweth us that this is accomplished when the Gentiles submit themselves to the Church,

Rom. xv. 11; and so is all the rest of like nature, Psalm c. 4,

"O go your way into His gates with thanksgiving, and into His courts with praise; be thankful unto Him, and bless His name."

§ 5. But shall we believe that these things are accomplished in merely believing the Gospel, or in serving Him according to it, as they are required to do in the Scriptures that foresaw it? In fine, St. Augustine hath instructed us that the Psalms are to be understood in the person of David, or [of] him that composed them by the Holy Ghost, in the first place; but afterwards, they belong to the person of Christ first, and then to His mystical body the Church: so whatsoever is there read in the singular number hath the last resort of the meaning in the congregation of God's people: but those things that are couched in the plural number there cannot properly be understood to proceed from particular persons; every "praise ye," every "hallelujah," is owned of none but assemblies. Besides, it expresseth to us the interest which the honour of God hath in every thing of this nature that is public. Could it be supposed that the same thing 170 were done, the same praises yielded to God by each man in private which all men yield Him in common, there is no Christian that is sensible of the body of Christ, and the fellowship of all members of it, could think these to be both one to God's service, because the Spirit that maketh this body one requireth of each member of it a particular influence in the common office. Hearts endued with several graces to God are like several voices to the ear. But we are far from supposing this: many men may think that they need not go to Church for those offices which they do at home: but they ought to think what the common sort of Christians might do if assemblies were not held: as the matter is, the service which the best are able to yield unto God is much improved by joining with the rest of His members-but should we not

CHAP. assemble for that purpose, the hearts of plain simple members, which now are most acceptable to God, would be able to move little in this work, the order of the congregation not guiding them in it. Last of all, be it considered that this is the employment of the other world: when men's desires are all satisfied, and all the subject of prayers possessed, the Angels, the elders about the throne of God, and all the people of Jews and Gentiles which encompass it, Rev. vii. 9, cease not to join in the praises of God, when the Church is 171 become perfectly one.

The ground and efficacy of common prayers.

§ 6. As for the prayers of Christian assemblies, we know upon what patent they stand. Matth. xviii. 19, 20, "Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." And we know that all service of God at that time had reference to the temple at Jerusalem, which reference our Lord abrogateth in His speech with the Samaritan, John iv. 21, 23, substituting the worship of God in spirit and truth, instead of the ceremonial worship of the temple, upon which all depended at that time. We must know further, that by the rules of the synagogue, under ten that are of years there is no congregation. Before that number of such as are come to years be present they go not to prayers; but our Lord, intending to free His Church of all rules that might abridge the privileges of it-knowing that occasions might fall out to diminish the number of His people that desired to assemble-assureth them of His presence in the midst of them, where the least number agree in the things which they desire at His hands. But if the reason of His presence among them be their agreement in their desires, then two or three that agree in their desires, with opposition 172 to the rest of the congregation, shall not be heard; but if they agree with the congregation, then must they, and will they, assemble with it to obtain their desires at God's hands.

§ 7. The Apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 8, "I will therefore," saith he, "that men pray every where, lifting up pure hands without wrath or disputing." Beza there, His verbis tollitur Hierosolymitani templi circumstantia legalis: et ista respondent verbis

Mal. i. 11, Joan. iv. 21. Omnem tamen locum intellige sacris CHAP. cætibus destinatum. Agit enim Paulus de publicis precibus in communi conventu, ut in toto orbe terrarum pura hæc sacrificia Deo offerantur, de quibus apud Malachiam agitur. "These words," 'in every place,' "take away the legal circumstance of the temple at Jerusalem. And this agreeth with the words Mal. i. 11, John iv. 21. But understand 'every place' of such as are appointed for holy assemblies. For Paul speaketh of common prayers at public meetings, that those pure sacrifices of which the Prophet Malachi speaketh be offered to God all over the world." When the Apostle forbiddeth wrath and disputing in their prayers, it is plain enough his meaning is of their assemblies, the fruit whereof he would not have intercepted through their dissensions. A strange thing that men should so forget the communion of saints, as to think of the public prayers of the Church no otherwise than of those 173 which they know they can make at home t: as who should say that the incense of the temple which the Psalm speaketh of, exli. 2, "Let my prayer be directed before Thee as the incense," made no other perfume than the spices would do were they burnt one by one. Coimus in cætum et congregationem ut ad Deum quasi manu factá precationibus ambiamus orantes. Hæc vis Deo grata est. Tertull. Apolog. cap. xxxix. "We come together into the assembly and congregation, that, as in a body, we may approach God in prayer. This violence is welcome to God." He that is earnestly desirous to obtain

his suit as the favour of the congregation with God affords. § 8. The Jews have an opinion that the prayers of the congregation are always heard: not so the prayers of particular persons in private. Maimoni of Prayer, cap. viii. num. 1. They have deserved to void the truth of this opinion as for the favourable part of it, but the promise of our Lord hath enlarged it to us. Again, ולעולם ונו. "And always," saith he, "let a man go morning and evening to the synagogue, for his

those things which the Church prayeth for at God's hands, will think his pains well bestowed to join so much strength to

"Such a prescript form (as the Scot-ish) is against the glory of God in tinting to Him such a daily measure f service..... It quenches the Holy pirit, because He gets no employtish) is against the glory of God in stinting to Him such a daily measure of service.... It quenches the Holy Spirit, because He gets no employment. It hinders the edification of

CHAP, prayer is not heard always but in the synagogue: and he that - dwelleth in a city where there is a synagogue and prayeth not there with the congregation, this is he that is called a bad neighbour." Well may he be called a bad neighbour that will not lend his neighbour's prayers the strength of his own; 174 but himself findeth the fruit of his own bad neighbourhood when his own prayers want the assistance of his neighbour's. The Church is one in faith and one in love to this purpose, that all that hold the unity of it may find the strength of the whole in the effect of their own prayers. This is that "one shoulder" and that "one lip" of the Prophet Zephaniah"; one shoulder to crowd into God's service, one lip to praise Him with. This is that "mountain of God" in the Prophet Isaiah unto which he foretelleth that all nations should flow: whereupon the rule of the Jews is, to run to the synagogue, but to come easily from thence; Maimoni, cap. viii. num. 2, כמצוה ונו "And we are commanded to run to the synagogue. As it is said, Hos. vi. 3, 'And we shall know, we shall drive on to know the Lord."

Reading the Scriptures a part of public service.

§ 9. Neither is it to be thought that the public service of the Church can stand without reading the Scriptures, how easy soever some men imagine it is to do it at home. First, from the beginning of moral and not ceremonial service in synagogues, it hath appeared that it was wont to be read there as the subject for those speeches that followed for the exposition of it: we know we have the law of Moses distinguished into divisions, answerable to the number of weeks in the year, that it might begin and end with it: and you shall 175 find afterwards an order of reading the law in public as ancient as Nehemiah's time. The lessons of the prophets correspondent to these, how ancient soever they be-Elias the Levite v deriveth them from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as if the Jews began to practise them when he had forbidden them to read the law of Moses-we know our Lord Christ took one of them for the subject of His sermon at Nazareth. as His Apostle stood up at Antiochia "after the reading of the law and the prophets*." Certain it is, that from hence

[&]quot; See chap. i. sect. 2.

Thisbites in voce 705, p. 167. Isniæ in Algavia, 1541. Quoted by Vi-

hath been continued the custom of Lessons of the Old and CHAP.

New Testament in the Church to the same purpose.

VI.

§ 10. Justin Martyr in his first Apology, Τη τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρα, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἡ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἡποστόλων, ἡ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται. "On the day called Sunday, all that abide in towns or the countries about meet in one place, and the records of the Apostles, or the writings of the Prophets are read, as far as occasion serveth. Then the reader having done, the president in a speech instructeth, and exhorteth to the imitation of such excellent things." The words have a place here because the author is so ancient: otherwise the matter is plain enough, were it but from

176 cient: otherwise the matter is plain enough, were it but from that we had in the Constitutions of the Apostlesz, for no question the custom hath been very general to begin the sermon when the lessons of the Epistles and Gospels were done. And hereupon it is that preachers among the Latin Church writers are called tractatores, and tractare, to preach, and St. Augustine's exposition upon St. John is called tractatus, because it was preached to the people. All this because they handled the Scriptures which were read. And Optatus charging the Donatists and Parmenianus, that their fashion was to leave the exposition of their texts, the lessons read, to fall on railing upon the Catholics, lib. iv. ": Nullus vestrum [est qui non convitia nostra suis tractatibus misceat] qui non aliud initiet, aliud explicet : lectiones Dominicas incipitis, et tractatus vestros ad nostras injurias explicatis: profertis evangelium, et facitis absenti fratri convitium. "There is none of you," saith he, "but [mingleth revilings of us in their tractates, but] beginneth one thing and expoundeth another: ye begin with the lessons of the Lord, but ye pursue your tractates to our wrong: ye produce the Gospel, but ye revile your brother in his absence." Hereupon the name of tractatores standeth sometime in opposition to canonici and authentici; to preserve the difference between the authority of

Apolog. i. cap. 67, p. 83, ed. Ben.
 Chap. v. sect, 36.
 De Schism. Donat, lib. iv. cap. v. pp. 73, 74. Antverp. 1702.

CHAP. Scripture and whatsoever words it is expounded with. A difference not to be smothered between the Scripture and the best exposition of it that a man can imagine.

The neces. sity and pounding the Scriptures.

§ 11. There is one thing that hindereth the effect of the excellence Scripture when it is read, that is, because it is not undering for ex. stood. Thereupon cometh the office of preaching in the Church, to expound the word of God; and that which is preached hath the force and virtue of the word of God, because the word of God is not the letters and syllables, but the sense and meaning of the Scriptures. But all men are capable more or less of understanding the Scriptures as they are read: and no man understandeth them so well but may improve by hearing them read in the Church. Let those that slight this part of the Church-service b take order first, that all congregations shall be perfect in the knowledge of the Scriptures. And yet were that come to pass we must not give way to leave it out: the better they are acquainted with it the more shall they improve in the understanding of it, by hearing it repeated. But so far as it is understood it is a thing strange and admirable, that any man living should imagine that the effect thereof in enlightening the mind, or converting the heart, is less when it is read than when it is expounded out of the pulpit. The one the word of God as the Holy Ghost inspired it, the other no less, so far as it departeth not from that which is written, but always subject, so long as man is subject to error and mistake, to depart from 178 it. And when this precious wine is once dashed with the water of human apprehensions it is no offence to me that it is still called the word of God; for so it should be, and so it is presumed to be, till it appear otherwise: but it will concern every man to look about him, that he pin not on God his own infirmities. As for the necessity and excellence of preaching, let all them that are most affected to it examine their reasons, and they shall not ascribe more to it than here shall be done.

> b "The Epistles and Gospels read in their Churches is a practice taken wholly from Rome, and they use the very same which the others do. This chapping and hacking of the Scriptures
> —this rending of it a-pieces one from another, is contrary to the order which

God hath ordained, and His Churches practised from time to time, and therefore the non-conformists have desired that it might be taken away as an evil thing."—Canne's Necess. of Separat., chap. ii. sect. 4, pp. 107, 108.

§ 12. Here, if any where, that difference hath place which CHAP. divines make of things necessary to salvation: some as means, without which it cannot be had in any case; others as things commanded to be done, without which it is not to be had for those that are under that command and do them not c. He that in his ripe years hath learned so much of the Christian faith as to be informed in the means of our reconcilement to God, and that condition of life which it requireth, believing the one, and submitting to the other, and desiring His baptism in consequence; as he that was baptized an infant, and when he cometh to years of knowledge doeth the like, as it concerneth his case to do, what wanteth such a man to set him in the state of salvation that can be counted necessary 179 means of it? what should hinder him with old Simeon to sing his Nunc dimittis, should it please God to take him in that estate? But because that condition of life which Christians undertake professeth to do all things out of obedience to the will of God, and with intention of His honour and service, therefore those things which, in the latitude of their kind and nature, are necessary but as things commanded to be done, become necessary as means of salvation to those that are under that command. He that by his own fault is ignorant of that which it concerneth him to believe, or to do for the discharge of his profession to God,-he that suffereth himself to be abused, to be diverted and led aside by the deceits of the world and his corrupt inclinations, for want of that warning and advice whereof God appointeth him the means—he must needs fail of his profession to God, in fulfiling whereof the means of salvation consisteth: but he must take it upon his own account that he faileth of it.

§ 13. Upon these considerations we are to value the necessity of preaching in respect of particular persons. Upon these considerations we are to value how much it must needs concern all Christian commonwealths to furnish the means; all

quidem omnibus, Pœnitentia vero lapsis post Baptismum: reliqua vero Sacramenta tantum ex divino præcepto censentur necessaria, nec tamen omnia singulis: non enim singulos homines sacris ordinibus initiari, aut matrimonio jungi necesse est.—Cavallar. Inst. Jur. Can. par. ii. p. 6. § 6. Matriti, 1821.

Est alia necessitas medii alia precepti, ut scholæ loquuntur. Necessitas medii facit, ut homines servari nequeant, nisi reapse, aut saltem desiderio Sacramenta suscipiant. Necessitas vero præcepti obligat ad Sacramenta suscipienda, nisi justa causa impediat. Necessitate medii necessaria sunt Baptismus et Pœnitentia: et Baptismus

CHAP. Christian Churches to take order that it may be done. As the means to bring men to know, as the means to move men to embrace those means, without which they cannot be saved: 180 as the means to instruct them more and more, to guide them from time to time in a straight course both of their judgment and doings. These considerations notwithstanding, if the question be made which is the chief work for which Christians assemble, to hear the Scriptures expounded by preaching, or to serve God in their prayers; there is a visible advantage due to this latter, because it is a means nearer the end of both.

§ 14. It cannot be denied that all preaching is to the purpose of informing the mind, or moving the heart to desire that which is good indeed: but prayer being the actual desire of it, is the exercise of the means which God ordaineth to procure it. But otherwise, if we compare the work of ministering the prayers of the Church with that of ministering the doctrine of the Scripture upon the considerations premised, it must be affirmed that preaching is the chief work which the ministers of the Church, from their office, are able to contribute towards the public service of God. Because the other part of it may be ministered to the same purpose by men of common sense, whereas this requireth those personal abilities which all men have not. For one may be the mouth of the congregation in prayer to as good purpose in all regards in following a prescript form, as exercising his wit and understanding about it-suppose this for the present 181 which shall be proved afterwards-and therefore we see in the primitive Church most parts of the service were referred to inferior ministers. They had such as read the lessons, such as sung the Psalms, and a great part of the prayers were done by deacons.

§ 15. And though many men are so eager to have all ministers to be the mouth of the congregation in conceiving prayers at the instantd; yet no man shall persuade me that

people's wants to God in prayer is part of the ministerial office as well as preaching. And if it can be thought no less than sacrilege to rob the people of the ministers' gift in preaching and to tie them to Homilies, it can be no less to deprive them of their gift in prayer." -Smeetymnuus, sect. ii. pp. 12, 13.

d "And whereas the minister by the Scripture is the people's mouth to God, book prescribes responsions to be said by the people. The Homilies are left free either to be read or not by preaching ministers, and why not then the Liturgy? especially considering that the ability to offer up the

their meaning is to place the best of their performance either CHAP. in the conceptions or in the language wherein they express the desires thereof to God, for these sure make no difference to Him, so there be no offence. The best they can contribute is the devotion of the heart which they pray with, wherein they are but one of the congregation: the meanest of it may bring as good as they are able to do. But in preaching, a man's knowledge in the Scriptures-his abilities to express his knowledge to the capacity of his audience-his discretion in addressing it to their particular without offence, will either be seen or missed. And therefore whosoever commendeth the price and value of the work, for due reasons must needs call to mind how difficult it is. For he that cometh to expound the Scripture to the people must understand it aright before he cometh to expound it, and that understanding cometh not 182 in these days by the immediate inspiration of the Spirit, but is allotted to human endeavours, in those that in the fear of God take pains about the means which He hath provided for it. And in delivering no more than a man's knowledge, there fall out many times these failings, which, like Eli's sons, may make the offering of God to be loathed, and the ministry of God contemptible. And though all Scripture, as saith the Apostle, 1 Tim. iii. 15, "is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," yet may all this be so unseasonably ministered that the effect may prove offence, though the end be amend-

§ 16. It cannot be said with justice that this truth is acknowledged here to abate the esteem of this work, which tendeth indeed to enhance the diligence of them which do it. But this must be averred, that unless men and abilities be provided for the work, as well as the work for them, it may prove a sword in a blind man's hand, to wound the Church as well as the enemies of it. Though all that hitherto hath been said to the nature and use of these particulars of public service pretendeth to shew no more but this, that they are all principals and substantials, no accessories in it. That the praise of God in Psalms, the reading of the Scriptures, is not, by the nature of the work, and the primitive custom of the 183 Church, to while out the time till the congregation be assem-

CHAP. blede: that the prayers of the Church are not, in the main intent of them, to usher in the sermon, or to leave impression of it in men's minds afterwards, but for the procuring of all necessaries of the congregation, and each particular of it, so far as general order can comprise.

The Eu-charist the chief part

§ 17. Hitherto hath nothing been said of the chief part of public service among Christians, that is, of celebrating and receiving the Lord's Supper: the Eucharist, which from the beginning of the profession and name of Christians was frequented as the chief part of public service in most of their assemblies, now, because it is not of such continual use, is not mentioned among the rest at the beginning of our service. For the present I press no more but the words of the Apostle, as they seem to be expounded by a passage of Ignatius, to shew what effect the prayers of the congregation have in the consecration of that Sacrament, and the effect of it. For it is a fearful word of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 20, 21, where having charged the divisions among them to be the cause that their assemblies were not for the better but for the worse, he proceedeth thus; "When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper: for in eating every one taketh before other his own supper: and one is 184 hungry, and another is drunken." It is plain it was the Lord's Supper they intended to celebrate, therefore if they received it not through their own fault it must needs be sacrilege on their hands. The fault is plain enough, as well neglect of the congregation, out of the schisms that were among them, as their excess in particular.

§ 18. Take the words of Ignatius to expound the Apostle; they are the words of one that drank at his spring and spake to the same purpose; Epist. ad Ephes. : Μηδείς πλανάσθω· έὰν μή τις ή έντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. "Let no man be deceived, if a man be not within the Altar he cometh short of the bread of God." "He that is

most religious king not only assented to this request, but also gave me thanks for it. This had not before been done from the beginning of King James's reign to this day. Now thanks be to God it obtaineth."—p. 37. London, 1695. See also Cyprianus Angli-cus, p. 293. London, 1671. f Cap. v. p. 13. ed. Coteler,

^{*} This will be explained by the following extract from Archbishop Laud's diary, Nov. 14, 1626—"I desired his Majesty King Charles, that he would please to be present at prayers as well please to be present at prayers as well as sermon every Sunday, and that at whatsoever part of the prayers be came, the priest then officiating might proceed to the end of the prayers. The

within the Altar," with Ignatius, is he that communicateth CHAP. with the Church: in imitation of those under the law that feasted upon the relics of peace-offerings, to which the lovefeasts of Christians used with the Eucharist practised correspondence. There was one Altar from whence all men communicated of those sacrifices; which those that forsake, saith Ignatius, may take upon them to celebrate the Eucharist, but

the bread they receive is not the Lord's, it is profane.

§ 19. To the same purpose, Ep. ad Smyrn. 8: 'Εκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἡ ῷ αν αὐτὸς έπιτρέψη. "Let that be counted a firm Eucharist which is held under the Bishop, or him to whom he committeth it." 185 The celebration of the Eucharist is not sound nor effectual but under the Bishop, that is, in the unity of the Church, therefore sacrilege in them that attempt it. His reason is to our purpose, "for if the prayer of one or two have that force," saith he, "that God standeth in the midst of them, how much more shall the prayer wherein the Bishop and Church agreeth prevail h?" That prayer wherein they agree prevaileth to make the Sacrament the bread of God to them that agree in it, therefore that wherein they agree not leaveth it as it was, no bread of God, but the subject of their sacrilege. If this be not enough to enforce the virtue of public prayers, nothing will serve the turn. It is the agreement of the congregation in their prayers that maketh the elements the Supper of the Lord with St. Paul; the bread of God with Ignatius, to them that agree: those that agree not fail of the grace, fail not of committing sacrilege.

§ 20. Having thus far derived the substance of that which The Apois to be done at Christian assemblies from the practice of the of order Apostles themselves, and after them of the primitive Chris-and cometians, it will be requisite, before we go further, upon the precedent of their practice to consider the weight and extent of the reasons, upon which the Apostle proceedeth in ordering 186 the manner of performing the particulars, whereof hitherto

hath been said among the Corinthians: the chief whereof is the edification of God's people, upon which he pitcheth the issue of his foregoing dispute [1 Cor. xiv.], ver. 26, which

Cap. viii. p. 37. ed. Coteler.
Cited before in Primitive Goveru-

ment, chap. x. sect. 2.

CHAP, may seem to extend no further than the information of the -mind and understanding in matters of religion belonging to knowledge; because the speech of the Apostle proceedeth concerning the use of spiritual graces, which he directeth to that purpose: as you see, ver. 3, it is expressly differenced from matter of exhortation and comfort, when he saith, "He that prophesieth speaketh to men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort." Nevertheless it must be something else that he meaneth there, ver. 17, "For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified:" that is, because he understandeth not what thou sayest, he is not guided and directed to go along with the thanksgiving wherein thou goest afore in an unknown language. And in this epistle afore, viii. 10, "Shall not the conscience of him that is weak be edified to eat those things which be offered to idols?" Where you see a man is said to be edified by whatsoever it is that advanceth his intentions towards any work. And therefore, though the reason of edifying may sometimes tend to the particular sense of teaching, yet it is not so to be confined, but that whatsoever is a fit means to train and guide us in 187 the ways of godliness must be said to tend towards the edification of God's people.

§ 21. And thus the rules which the Apostle afterwards or custom qualifieth all that is to be done in the Church with, when he ing order. saith, "Let all things be done decently and in order," are clearly subordinate to this main reason of the edification of the Church, and derived from it. For without doubt there is nothing so powerful to edification—that is, to guide and train the body of the Church in the exercise of godliness-as a good order for the particular practice of those offices thereof which are generally commanded in the Scriptures. Well might the Apostle say here, ver. 33, "God is not the author of confusion but of order, as in all Churches of the Saints." Whosoever withdraweth himself from the public order of the Church, out of opinion that a better might be established, will hinder the edification thereof more in that neglect of the course in force which he procureth, than it is possible he should advance it in the practice of those whom he thinketh to direct in a better course. For on the one side, his own followers, out of heat of contention, shall always spend their zeal upon matters

of small consequence, which ought to be conversant about CHAP. the great things of the Gospel: on the other side, those that -188 are not affected with his singularities are disquieted in their own course of God's service.

§ 22. The other part of the Apostle's rule seemeth to extend further than the term of "decency," in which it is translated, containeth: πάντα εὐσχημόνως saith the Apostle, honestè saith the Old Latin, and in St. Paul's epistles εὐσχημόνως περιπατείν, which is rendered there honeste ambulare, and εὐσχήμονες γυναικές, in the Actsk, honestæ mulieres: all these express more than "decency." For that is seen in the least matters, where all things are fit and suitable, but that which in Latin is called honestas, in none but those that carry an appearance that deserveth respect. Which if the property of the word will not enforce, as to them that relish it right without fail it will do, the nature and kind of that whereof the Apostle speaketh will constrain it to import no less than that which beareth an appearance of respect and account: because in matter of so high a nature as the exercise of religion nothing can be decent, nothing can become, but that which preserveth the respect which actions of that rank are to be performed with. So much, common sense telleth us; that the outward appearance of all kind of proceedings is a means to maintain the inward esteem which men ought to hold of those things that are done there.

§ 23. Let no man blame me that appeal to common sense And of 189 to judge what becometh in matters of religion, which must judging of neither stand nor fall by the judgment of common sense, comelibeing so far beyond it. The Apostle here hath done it afore me, ver. 23; "If the Church be met, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?" For what is this but to condemn that which they did in the exercise of religion by the verdict of common sense, which though unable to judge of the religion of Christians, nevertheless is able to discern what is suitable to the end which the assemblies of Christians profess? And do we not all see with what kind of reasons in another place, 1 Cor. xi. 13, he argueth another point of this nature, to settle a custom for men to be bare,

Rom. xiii. 13; 1 Thess, iv. 12,

k Chap, xiii. 50; xvii. 12.

CHAP, women to be veiled at their assemblies? It is first to be VI. known that the women of those times, and of the Jews in particular, as Tertullian1 in one place witnesseth, were careful to keep their faces veiled from the sight of men when they came in public; which was in them a profession of bashfulness, and that modesty which they desired to preserve. On the other side, in men it was a mark of confusion and disgrace to have the face covered: the custom was to go bare in public, and that in token of the freedom and boldness which they professed. And it is plain that the covering whereof the Apostle speaketh was such an one as the face was veiled 190 with: for therefore he saith, ver. 4, the man dishonoureth his head in covering it when he prayeth or prophesieth, disclaiming the freedom and dignity of his sex: the woman in discovering her head, not professing the modesty and subjection of her sex: therefore he saith afterwards that the woman's hair is given her for a veil, that is, to cover the face with, which if it be not done she had as good be shaven, saith he, ver. 5.

§ 24. In Tertullian's time those that professed virginity took upon them to sit with their faces unveiled in the Church, taking it for a privilege of their rank to disclaim the subjection of the sex and profess freedom. This is the occasion of his book De Virginibus velandis. What opinion it was upon which the custom which the Apostle writeth against at Corinth proceeded, is not known. How the Apostle argueth we see, 1 Cor. xi. 13; "Judge in yourselves:" saith he; "is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered? Doth not even nature itself teach you," &c. To shew us the reason whereupon he proceedeth, that the custom then practised, for men to go bare-head in sign of freedom and profession of boldness and cheerfulness of heart, women veiled in sign of modesty and bashfulness, as it was agreeable to revealed truth, as the Apostle disputeth before, ver. 3, 7, which teacheth that the woman was created of the man, and must 191 not forget the subjection she oweth him from whom she first came; so is it to the light of nature, that teacheth women to keep their hair to veil themselves with; if there be nothing else to do it with, men to part with theirs, that it hinder not

Apud Judæos tam solenne est fœminis eorum velamen capitis, ut inde p. 289. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662.

their boldness to appear: as Tertull. Apolog. cap. xxx." saith, CHAP. they prayed bare-headed, because not ashamed.

§ 25. By which it remaineth undeniable, how much the Apostle referreth to common reason, to judge of the fitness of those things that are practised at our religious assemblies, when he setteth aside his Apostolic authority to consult with their common sense about matters to be ordered. But when that is done-having alleged how agreeable the custom for which he pleaded was both to the light of nature and to revealed truth-because it is not possible that matters of this nature should be put past contradiction and dispute by constraining reasons issuing from the mere nature of things, and yet the quiet of the Church-on which the edification of it dependeth-requireth that they should be out of dispute: you shall see where the last resort of his plea endeth, when he saith, ver. 16, "But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God," where 192 he hath estated a general rule for the Church to follow, that in matters of this indifference the custom of the Church is to be preferred before our own reasons.

§ 26. The indifference, whereof here we speak, is not to be [Indifferfound in the action to be done or not to be done, as if, in things of this slight nature, our obligation to God had no influence, as if it were indifferent to a man to do or not to do, to do this or the other: but the indifference, whereof we speak, is to be understood in the latitude and kind of the thing prescribed to be done or not done, which indifference is taken away by custom accruing. For example, when St. Augustine saith, Ep. cxviii.," that to fast on Saturday or not, to celebrate the Eucharist, or to communicate every day or not, were things of free observance; his meaning was not that it was free for particular persons to do what they would,

m Capite nudo, quia non erubesci-mus.—P. 62. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662. n... Alii jejunant Sabbato, alii non: alii quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini Domini, alii certis diebus accipiunt : alibi nullus dies rætermittitur, quo non offeratur, alibi Sabbato tantum et Dominico, alibi tan-tum Dominico: et si quid aliud hujusmodi animadverti potest, totum hoc genus rerum liberas habet observati-

ones: nec disciplina ulla est in his melior gravi prudentique Christiano, quam ut eo modo agat, quo agere viderit Ecclesiam ad quam forte devenerit. Quod enim neque contra fidem, neque contra bonos mores esse convincitur, indifferenter est habendum, et propter eorum inter quos vivitur societatem servandum est. S. Augustin. ad inquisitiones Januarii, lib. i. Ep. liv. tom. ii. col. 124. ed. Ben.

CHAP, without respect to the custom in which they lived; that is quite against the purpose of his epistle, which is for the observation of present customs: but that of their own nature and kind they were free to be determined by the practice of several Churches, which he that regardeth not in his particular is the cause of an offence. It is no more than the Apostle teacheth when he saith, "If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God." Where he acknowledgeth that in things of this nature even 193 his own reasons for the custom in force must needs be subject to contradiction of contrary reasons, much more other men's reasons for customs of like nature might be opposed with such as might move men to think the contrary custom better, for which they plead: and yet concluding that they ought to submit their reasons to the custom in force, hath given us authority to conclude that men are bound in matter of that nature to balk their private judgment to proceed upon public custom. The reason being that which was argued afore, because custom containeth order, and upon order the edification of the Church dependeth: neither can private innovations, in the advantage which they yield beyond that which is received, countervail the disadvantage of public confusion and unquietness which they cause.

[Reasons dience.]

§ 27. There are besides these which have been discoursed two considerations of singular moment to recommend and to enforce the orders of public service. For as the Church universal is but one in regard of times, as well as of places and countries, those orders must needs appear most commendable which are derived from the universal practice of the ancient Church, especially next the Apostles: and as the Church is at this time incorporate into the state of kingdoms and com-194 monwealths, it is the secular arm that establisheth it with a power that is able to constrain, but when that is done there must needs accrue a second obligation of obedience for conscience, which the Apostle requireth to be yielded to secular powers.

All prac-

§ 28. It is not my purpose to oblige the Church of this time to reduce into practice all things which a man may find to have been practised even in the time of the Apostles, eth not to much less afterwards: we have divers remarkable instances of

matters allowed and appointed by the Apostles in Scripture CHAP. which are come to disuse, upon appearance that the reason is ceased whereupon they were prescribed. Such is that whereof I spake even now for women to be veiled on their faces in the time of public service, which the Apostle enforceth with so many reasons, and yet among us doth not take place, neither in the rest of countries where it was never the custom for women to go abroad with their faces covered, in sign of the modesty and subjection which they profess. Such is that ancient custom of Agapæ, or Feasts of Love, the original whereof St. Chrysostom truly deriveth from the manner of living of those primitive Christians that made all things common in the Acts of the Apostles. There were those in other 195 places that went not so far, yet intended to preserve some impression of their practice: these, upon set days of assemblies, furnished a common entertainment both for rich and poor, so that service being done, after the communion of the mysteries they went all to feast together, the rich providing and inviting the poor, and all together making good cheer. This is his discourse in 1 ad Cor. Hom. xxvii.º; neither was it any part of the Apostle's mind to forbid this course, but rather to allow it, so far as he regulateth and ordereth the course of it. Which nevertheless we see it is so lost as if there had never been remembrance of any such thing in Scripture, because it appeareth to common reason that it cannot be practised to the same purpose, now that all the world is Christian, as it was when they were tied so straight together by the profession that differenced them from the Gentiles.

§ 29. And such is that order of the Apostle concerning [Constitu-Gentiles converted to the faith, Acts xv. 29, "To abstain Apostles from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things changed.] strangled:" the reason whereof being nothing but this, when it is examined to the bottom, that the Jews converted to the faith might find less offence in matters of daily practice which their orders imposed upon them, but the Gentiles made no 196 scruple at, and so might the better piece into one household of the Church; it is no marvel if the observance of it came afterward to disuse when the reason had ceased. And there-

CHAP. fore it is remarkable even in St. Augustine's time, as we find, Contr. Faust. lib. xxxii. 13p, that divers Christians then scrupled at the violation of this observance, in eating of a hare killed by breaking the neck, or small fowl without letting blood, which he that doth, saith he, is now laughed at for his pains of the rest; because it would not appear to one so soon as the rest that the ground of this injunction was ceased.

[The reason.]

§ 30. If then such ordinances and customs as are allowed and enjoined by the Apostles themselves are with right abolished because the reason of them is ceased, much more those which were taken up at the beginning upon human appointment of the Church may cease when the reason of that good appeareth not, and must cease when evil consequences which they draw into the Church at their heels begin to appear. This is that which justifieth the reformation which we profess q, wherein some observances in the Church—as ancient as there is remembrance in it of things used since the time of the Apostles-are perhaps abolished by law, or disused by custom; the remembrance of the dead at the celebration of the Eucharist, for example. The reason of edification of the Church, by the comfort which it receiveth at the communion 197 professed with the deceased, not being now required in particular by them which presume of it in all that die in the faith; and the abuses which it hath trained in after it appearing unsufferable.

Correspondence with it

§ 31. But all this being granted, the consideration of the primitive Church and the precedent of it, to my understandnecessary. ing, prescribeth two things: the first is general: as it is a Church, and all Churches make one Church by acknowledging and maintaining union and communion with the Churches that have been in other ages, as well as with the

we read, "And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing but to our own people

P Quis jam hoc Christianus observat, ut turdos vel minutiores aviculas non attingat, nisi quarum sanguis effusus est, aut leporem non edat, si manu a cervice percussus, nullo cru-ento vulnere occisus est? Et qui forte pauci adhuc tangere ista formidant, a ceteris irridentur.—S. Aug., tom. vili.

^q Thorndike perhaps alludes to the preface to the Book of Common Prayer; "Of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained;" where

only."

* When Thorndike wrote, the "Prayer without was without for the Church Militant" was without these words, "And we also bless Thy holy name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear, beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom."

Churches that are in other countries, we are obliged not to CHAP. disclaim, not to renounce it, but to maintain ourselves always of communion with it, without substantial difference of belief or practice. The Donatists in old time, as St. Augustines chargeth, fell foul upon the Article of the Catholic Church because they acknowledged no Church but their own, but thought it had failed in all other countries by communicating with the Church of Africa, from which they had separated themselves: much more foul must he needs fall upon that Article that thinketh the Church perished almost as soon as it was instituted, and proceedeth in his practice as obliged to renounce that which was in the first ages. To maintain this 198 communion it is not requisite we commend, but it is necessary we tolerate, all that was then in practice: though we believe some things may be mended at this time, we must not believe any thing was pernicious at that time.

§ 32. This indeed, in the height, concerneth them which [Mischief separate from this Church: let them advise upon what tion. 1 terms they renounce that Church which communicateth with the primitive Church, with which all Churches are bound to hold correspondence; but in a lower degree concerneth all those that think they cannot detest the corruptions of the Church of Rome enough, till they involve the primitive Church, and whatsoever is done upon the precedent of it, in the same imputations which stick upon it: which is, out of indiscreet zeal to our own cause, to prevaricate against it, and for the blindness of the love we bear it, to oversee the advantages of it. For what greater pleasure can we do the Church of Rome, than to quit them the ancient Church as their clear advantage? Or what greater scandal can we fasten upon the Reformation which we love, than to make every thing we like not a mark of Antichrist, for which we hold ourselves bound to separate ? which if we should do upon no other

Roman Latin being turned into English: if there were no more in it than this, that it is the form of Rome's worship, and so (as King James once called it) an ill-said mass; it might a little startle such Christians as hold that Christianity to be the purest which hath least conformitie with Antichrist and his superstitions. For if we be commanded to come out of Rome, and

Vos contagione malorum Afrorum Ecclesiam periisse dicitis de orbe terrarum et in parte Donati ejus reliquias remansisse.—Contr. Crescon. Donatist. lib. ii. cap. 37. tom. ix. col. 434. ed.

Ben. extract out of Rome's Latin Service, Missal or Mass-book—as it is confessed in the Book of Martyrs-the

CHAP. matters than those, which some men will have to be such,

then were we as true schismatics as they of the Church of
Rome would have us.

The practice of it, in the point in hand, of what advantage,

§ 33. The second is an advantage more particular to the 199 point we are in hand with. As it was the Church primitive, near the fountain, and resented that fire the Holy Ghost had inspired so late, that which discourse of reason concludeth to be for the edification of the Church in the service of God, must needs appear more reasonable if it were then in practice. Were the question about matters difficult and obscure in the meaning of the Scriptures, knowledge goeth along with grey hairs, and it is to be believed that the Church may improve in it, as in time: but whereas it was said afore", that we are to use our common reason in judging what is for the edification of the Church in the order of public service, it is not to be thought that these are matters that require so much depth of understanding as they do uprightness of disposition, to give sentence without inclination or prejudice. I say then, that when the coast was clear of partialities, the matters in hand not controverted on any side, the Church bent more to act in the service of God than to dispute about it, the practice of that time may be a way too steep for us to tread, but sure it is straight to direct us.

§ 34. We must not slight those orders which directed them to make the service of God their earnest business, because the Church of Rome hath made it a formal employment to 200 pass the time over with. If in weeding this garden of God's Church we pluck up wholesome ordinances with the abuses which have been pinned to them, well may men devise laws for a good sense but not to much purpose, when religion is not suffered to grow within the pale. That noble and learned Du Plessis^x thought it a great advantage to the cause he undertook against the mass if he could demonstrate the form of

to have no communion with her idolatrous service; let it then be well considered, whether Christians may with a good conscience be present at the English Liturgy, which is for the main, the mass turned into English."—Christ on His Throne, case vi. pp. 23, 24.

Sect. 25.
 Philip Mornay, Lord of Plessis-Marly, was born in 1549. After the

death of his father in 1560 he publicly professed Calvinism, which his mother, sister of the Bishop of Nantes, had taught him in secret. He published in 1598 his book "Traité de l'institution de la Sainte Eucharistie." It appeared afterwards in Latin, with the title "De Sacra Eucharistia in quatuor libros distinctum opus." Hanoviæ, 1605.

service used in the reformed Churches of France to be more CHAP. agreeable to that of the primitive Church than that of the mass-book of Rome. This he thought worth his pains to undertake, and if we regard the substance of public service, may well be thought to have performed it. I am yet in a more general point concerning the order of public service, but I shall think it advantage enough, to the cause in which I deal, to shew the points questioned in this order to be of more ancient practice in the Church than the corruptions of the Church of Rome, for which we leave it. And when I come anon to survey the particular form of service which this Church useth, let men of learning judge what is nearer to the primitive than both; but thereupon I must take leave to conclude, that this Church is not to forsake the primitive to con-201 form to other reformed Churchesy, where the order in force hath both the precedent of so ancient practice, and the reason of edification to commend it.

§ 35. Now the difference between this state of the Church Order of -incorporate into the bodies of kingdoms and common-vice a law wealths-and the primitive-when it was either tolerated or of Christian kingpersecuted under the Roman empire-is to be seen in the doms. Apostles fishing after the resurrection of Christ, John xxi. 11: "Though there were taken one hundred and fifty-three great fishes, yet the net brake not." "For the multitude of believers were of one heart, and one soul," Acts iv. 32. They came out of good-will into the net of the Apostles, and out of good-will they applied themselves to the orders, wherein they were directed by them and their successors, not able to constrain obedience; so the net was not strong enough to hold them, and yet brake not. But when the world came into the Church, then was the parable of our Lord more clearly fulfilled, which resembleth the Gospel to a net, which drew to the land both good and bad fish, and when the net is not strengthened by the secular arm, no marvel to see it break in pieces. It is therefore requisite that the orders of public service have the force of temporal

tance from us, and us from full commu-nion with them." - Smeetymuuus, seet. ii. quere i. 6.

y "There is such a vast difference between it (the English Liturgy) and the Liturgies of all other reformed Churches as that it keeps them at a dis-

CHAP. laws, by act of kingdoms and commonwealths; but it is nevertheless requisite that it should be directed by the office of ministers of the Church, no otherwise than it was before 202 the empire or any commonwealth received the faith. The charge of directing belongeth to the one which cannot be dispossessed of it, the power of constraining helongeth to the other which must give account how they use it or not. Heb. xiii. 17: "Obey them that have the rule over you," or guide you, "and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls as they that must give account." 1 Thess. v. 12, 13: "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord; and to esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake."

§ 36. What can these exhortations and injunctions of the Apostle concern, if-in matters so proper to their charge, as the public service of God and the order of it-those of whom the Apostle speaketh are not to direct but to execute? and when those disorders fell among the Corinthians in their feasts of love, and receiving the mysteries, in praying, praising God, and preaching in unknown languages—no doubt through those partialities of the presbyters, the ordinary guides of the Church there, whereof hath been spoken elsewhere -the Apostle indeed himself taketh order in his time, but in case the like fall out afterwards, hath he not authorized the ordinary ministries of the Church, by his example, to take order in like matters? and when he writeth to Timothy, I Tim. ii. 1-"I will therefore that first of all supplications, prayers, 203 intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men:" wherein without peradventure he taketh order for the substance of public prayer for their assemblies, as shall appearis it his purpose to refer the ordering of it to the congregation there, or to his office whom he enchargeth with it? it is to be seen indeed how much King David did in ordering the public course of Divine Service in his time: but it is to be considered how he proceeded in it, by that which we read, 1 Chron. xv. 16, 17: "And David spake to the chief of the Levites, to appoint their brethren singers with instruments of music, psalteries, and harps, and cymbals, sounding by lifting up the voice with joy. And the Levites appointed

² Primitive Government, chap. vi. sect. 4. chap. iii. sect. 3.

Heman and the rest:" which is the very course by which we CHAP.

pretend such things are to pass.

§ 37. But in the Church of Christ, as from the beginning Direction things came to be practised in the service of God, by order ters of the of the ministers and consent of the people; so when emperors, Church requisite. kingdoms, and commonwealths received the faith, they purchased themselves no right of disposing in such matters, as by the Scriptures belong to the minister's charge, but they impose upon themselves the charge of enforcing these orders which shall seem to be for the advancement of godliness.

204 And therefore upon the judgment of discretion, common to all Christians, they are to proceed in denying or enforcing the execution of that which is directed by them whose charge it concerneth. If they proceed further, they are to answer for the good as well as for the wrong which they do; so far as that which is done for the better, as it advanceth the public good in the particular substance of that which is done, so it may prejudice it more in the consequence of the

example.

§ 38. Let us then recollect from the first to the last what [Edificahath been said of the reasons and grounds whereupon the end.] Apostle proceedeth in regulating matters concerning the public service of God, and we shall find that the Church in all ages is to proceed no otherwise. First, the edification of the Church, that is, the instruction of God's people in the knowledge of Him, and the training of them in the exercise of godliness, is the aim proposed. This is procured by observing order and comeliness in all things to be done of that nature. The best and most impartial reason is to be employed in judging what best becometh in matters of this weight: and because it is not possible to put these ordinances past contradiction of opposite reasons, the custom directed by the ministers of the Church-upon advice of common reason, and most primitive and universal precedent 205 of the Church, and enforced by the secular arm-is to take place for order sake.

§ 39. If after all this a question be made whether matters, The obestablished with a tolerable respect to the fiducial line of of it. this rule, oblige men in conscience to observe them or not, he shall leave the Church obnoxious to perpetual confusion,

CHAP. by necessary consequence, seeing it is not possible that all men should agree of their free accord to observe any course as fittest to be observed, unless they think themselves tied in conscience to observe that rule, which for the latitude and kind of it is not sinful for themselves to observe, and that if they fail they may be constrained to it because it is established. Possible it is that men, proceeding in the form of this rule, should so far mistake themselves as to enjoin the Church to violate some of God's laws in obeying theirs; in such, a man is bound with his blood to maintain his disobedience.

[Indif-ferency ceaseth where there is law.]

§ 40. But our speech concerneth matters of indifference where the perpetual law of God and nature forbiddeth not the whole kind and latitude of the thing commanded-where no perpetual law of God or nature-no positive constitution of God or man that ought to take place afore this, cometh between; if the laws of the Church, strengthened by the secular arm, bind not a man in conscience by virtue of that law of God, that enforceth obedience to their authors, to do 206 according to them, then must all men be at their freedom to dissolve or preserve order in the service of God as they please. Where nothing but custom of the Church, upon probable reason, directeth our practice, we must not proceed according to our private reasons, which persuade the contrary; but according to public custom, if we will be ruled by the Apostle: but where there is law to constrain us, we may perhaps have reason to think that the authors of laws might have done better in ordering matters otherwise, and yet be bound ourselves to follow the course which they prescribe. They are to answer for the things they enjoin; we for our performance; when was any human law made that could not be faulted? if our obedience be delayed till it find such laws as no fault can be found with, the world must end in confusion before we practise that virtue. It is never lawful to do any thing that is evil; but it is not evil, but necessary, in the sphere of things indifferent, to follow the law that standeth, though a better might stand instead of it.

§ 41. Herewith agreeth the judgment of the principal re-Agreement of
the chief formed Divines, themselves chief Reformers, which my desire Reformers is to repeat here, though it hath been produced more at 207 largea, not as pretending to stand or fall by plurality of CHAP. voices, but desiring to make it appear that nothing is said here to cross the principles of the Reformation and chief Reformers. Philip, loco de Cærem. in Ecclesia, p. 651b: In Ecclesiis emendatis reliqui sunt ritus aliqui adiaphori, quia hujus vitæ actiones ordine aliquo distribuendæ sunt. Hominum natura intelligit et amat ordinem, qui quidem maxime decet Ecclesiam et congressus publicos. "In reformed Churches there remain some indifferent rites," rites concerning indifferent things, "because the actions of this life are to be disposed in some order. Man by nature apprehendeth and loveth order, which especially becometh the Church and public assemblies." Calv. 4. Instit. x. 27: Neque enim haberi potest quod Paulus exigit, ut decenter omnia et ordine fiant, nisi additis observationibus, tanquam vinculis quibusdam, ordo ipse et decorum consistat. "That which Paul requireth, that all things be done decently and in order, is not to be obtained unless that order and comeliness stand upon some observances, added as bonds, to wit, to enforce it." To the same purpose a little afore: Si in rebus agendis vigere semper aliquem ritum, quem non respui publicæ honestatis interest, atque adeò humanitatis ipsius : id in Ecclesiis præsertim observandum esse, quæ cum bene composita rerum omnium constitutione optimè sustinentur, tum verò sine concordia nullæ sunt prorsus. And a little after he toucheth 208 the reason here discoursed to the quick. At quum in hominum moribus tanta insit diversitas, tanta in animis varietas, tanta in judiciis ingeniisque pugna, neque politia ulla satis firma est, nisi certis legibus constituta, nec sine stata quadam forma servari ritus quispiam potest. "But there being so much difference in men's manners, so much diversity of minds, so much contrariety of judgments and dispositions, neither is any commonwealth firm as it should be, till it be settled with certain laws, neither can any rite be observed without some settled form."

§ 42. Rites prescribed by God cannot be observed but according to forms prescribed by man. Philip. ubi supra: Rursus autem munitur publica tranquillitas hâc doctrina, quòd

a Passages to this effect are found in Scotchman of the Covenant." ^b Melancthonis, Opp. tom. i. fol. 296, 297. Wittebergæ. 1562,

a pamphlet of Peter du Moulin, published A.D. 1640, with this title, "A Letter of a French Protestant to a

CHAP. dicimus propter εὐταξίαν, eos ritus qui boni ordinis causa instituti sunt, servandos esse, et peccare homines petulantes, qui in Ecclesiis emendatis violant tales ritus cum scandalo. "Again, the public quiet is fortified by this doctrine, wherein we say, that for good order's sake, those rites which are ordained for good order's sake are to be observed, and that such saucy persons as violate such rites with offence in reformed Churches do sin." Again, Aliqui homines, &c. "Some men of savage nature hate all laws as a prison: but others of gentle nature and sociable, and understanding themselves to be born to communicate, nay, that their chief work is to contribute their endeavours to help and cherish the Church of their own 209 accord, observe honest and useful rites, and avoid offences, and knowing that public assemblies of the Church are ordained by the singular providence and blessing of God, and that God would have this frequency credited, that the voice of the Gospel may sound upon earth, study to maintain the order, the quiet, the gravity of these assemblies."

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROHIBITION OF QUENCHING THE SPIRIT, CONCERNETH IMMEDIATE INSPIRATIONS. PRESCRIPT FORM OF PRAYERS AS WELL AS OF OTHER PARTS OF THE SERVICE IS FOR THE EDIFICATION OF THE CHURCH. ORDER NOT TO BE MAINTAINED WITHOUT IT. THREE PARTS OF THE SERVICE OF THE TEMPLE. THE PRAISES OF GOD, THE CONFESSION OF SINS, THE PRIEST'S BLESSINGS. THE SERVICE OF THE SYNAGOGUE PRE-SCRIBED. OF THE EIGHTEEN BENEDICTIONS. OF THE SERVICE OF THEIR FAST OF SEVEN DAYS. THE DEACON MINISTERED THEIR SER-VICE. JUSTIN MARTYR AND TERTULIAAN MISUNDERSTOOD. SUM OF THE CHURCH SERVICE. ALL PRESCRIPT. OF CANONS THAT PRESCRIBE THE SERVICE TO BE ORDERED BY COUNCILS. ALTERATIONS IN LITUR-GIES. AGREEMENT OF REFORMED CHURCHES.

This is the substance of those things that are to be done The pro-hibition of for the public service of God at the assemblies of Christians: 210 quenching for the public service of odd at the spirit and these are the grounds of those rules by which the form, eth imme- in which they are done, is to be directed. Before we come spirations, to touch that particular form of service which we use, with these rules, let us make trial of them in some particulars,

which in the general point of public service are or may be CHAP. questionable. And that by the method, already set on foot, of reasons drawn from the grounds and rules of the Apostle, seconded by the practice of the primitive, the judgment and agreement of reformed Churches. Among which there is none of more account than this, whether there ought to be a set form of prayer prescribed for our assemblies.

§ 2. For it is not denied that there ought to be an order [Some prescribed for public service in the whole^c: but public prayers, allowed.] and the form of them, it is pretended, are to be referred to the discretion of the person by whom they are ministered, by virtue of that charge of the Apostle, wherein he forbiddeth to "quench the Spirit," 1 Thess. v. 19, which is conceived to be done when the conceptions of men's minds, or the expressions of their tongues, are stinted to prescribed forms, and men by that means so confined, that they cannot make demonstration of those graces which the Spirit of God hath 211 endued them with^d. This is, to my understanding, the best of that argument, that casteth so much and so dangerous

e "If by liturgy this Remonstrant understand an order observed in Church assemblies of praying, reading, and expounding the Scriptures, administering Sacraments, &c., such a liturgy we know, and do acknowledge both Jews and Christians have used."—Smeetym-

nuus, sect. ii. p. 6.

d "It (the liturgy) abridgeth the office of the Holy Ghost, which teacheth us how to pray as we ought; and keepeth out of the Church the gifts and graces of God; and quencheth the spirit of the ministers and people in the service of God, &c. Rom. viii. 26, 27; Eph. iv. 8; vi. 18; 1 Thess. v. 19; Jude 20."—Apology of Brownists, p. 67. A.D. 1604.

"Now though dumb priests have need of such a liturgy, yet it doth not follow that therefore able godly ministers, that know how to fit their prayers to all such several occasions as do continually present themselves—which a set prayer in a book cannot do—should be tied to any such precise set form, for otherwise this were to quench the spirit of prayer, 1 Thess. v. 19, and to muzzle the mouth of prayer, and to stop the course of God's Spirit, which doth wonderfully improve itself in all those—both ministers and people

—on whom God hath poured the spirit of grace and supplication," &c.—Christ on His Throne, case vii. pp. 29, 30. A.D. 1640.

"And that these stinted and devised forms do quench the spirit of prayer, appears in that they deprive the Church and minister of that liberty of the spirit of prayer, which God would have them use: stinting the minister, yea all the ministers in the kingdom, to the same measure of the Spirit, not only one with another, but all of them with him that is dead and rotten, and so stinting the Spirit which the Lord gives His ministers, for His Church: and that so strictly as till the stint be out, it may not suggest one thought or word otherwise, or when it is out, one more than is prescribed. 'The manifestation of the Spirit,' saith the Apostle, 1 Cor. xii. 7, 'is given to every man to profit withal.' But in the reading of a prescript form of prayer, there is not the manifestation of the spirit of the minister given him to profit the Church withal, but the manifestation of the spirit of him that devised and penned the service book."—Robinson's Justification of Separation, p. 345. A.D. 1639.

CHAP, scruple in a clear business; and at a distance carrieth an appearance of the Word of God, and the meaning of Scripture, but surveyed near hand may be a warning to all men how they trouble the Church with misapprehension, received upon the superficial sound of the words of it.

§ 3. For when the Apostle forbiddeth to "quench the [Quench § 3. For when the Apostle forbiddeth to "quench the the Spirit," he speaketh of immediate inspirations of the Holy what it meaneth.] Ghost, such as they were by which men were enabled to discern the secrets of other men's hearts, as in 1 Cor. xiv. 24 -by which the prophets of Antiochia were informed of the will of God, for the sending of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 2: and those others for the ordination of Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14-by which the truth was revealed unto them, as concerning matters in hand at their assemblies, 1 Cor. xiv. 30. And the rule of the Apostle, "If revelation be made to another as he sitteth, let the first be silent," is to the same purpose of not quenching these inspirations. Which, as it hath been shewede that they were maintained by the exercise of them, so it is no marvel if the Apostle be earnest to have them by all means maintained, because in them consisted the edification of the Church at that time. Therefore he commandeth that when immediate revelation is made to 212 one, he that spake afore be silent: not to demonstrate what the Spirit of God was able to do, in the person by whom it speaketh, that is a mistake which overthroweth the whole dispute of the Apostle, in the twelfth chapter afore-for it tendeth to the admiration of those persons which are endued with such graces; the thing the Apostle laboureth against through that whole discourse-but because by them the presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church was evidenced to unbelievers, and confirmed to believers: and because by such inspirations, when it pleased God to send them, the Church was informed of all things contained in them, in the particulars of the true sense of the Scriptures, debated in their congregations.

> § 4. In fine, "Quench not the Spirit," in regard of the Church, is the same with the proposition of this fourteenth chapter, "Be zealous of spiritual graces, especially of prophesying:" which is also the conclusion of the same, ver. 39,

"Be zealous of prophesying, but forbid not to speak with CHAP. tongues." He that hath the grace quencheth it when he pursueth it not by those means which were effectual towards it at that time: and the Church quencheth it if they allow not the publishing of such inspirations at their assemblies. For my part, I am confident that the words of the Apostle,

213 "Quench not the Spirit," relate as well to the gift of languages, as his words in this fourteenth chapter, ver. 1, "Be

guages, as his words in this fourteenth chapter, ver. 1, "Be zealous of spiritual graces, especially of prophesying." For prophesying being excepted, the rest of spiritual graces is the gift of languages, and it concerned the Thessalonians, as it did the Corinthians, that this gift of languages should be maintained among them, as well to evidence the presence of the Holy Ghost, as because the things inspired in strange languages, being expounded, served for the inestimable edification of the people.

§ 5. If then these that stand upon this prohibition of the Apostle, will come into our assemblies, and speak the mysteries of God's kingdom in languages unknown to them afore, if they will take upon them to reveal the secrets of men's hearts-to design ministers of the Church-to decide matters in debate through the Church, by immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and to make proof of these graces, as prophets are to do, we will acknowledge that the office of composing the praises of God, and conceiving prayers in behalf of the Church, is to be referred to them upon the same terms as it was to those of whom we read in the Apostle: nothing composed by human reason shall be thought so acceptable to God, so much for the edification of His people as that which His own Spirit inditeth. But if they dare not 214 pretend to any such grace, let them consider upon what consequences they pretend to the privileges of it. For they that pretendf that the Church is bound to use their conceptions and expressions for the direction of the people, in public

Now I may conclude as I began, that only God's holy word and the lively graces of His Holy Spirit are to be heard and offered up unto Him in the public assemblies."—Greenwood's Answer to George Gifford's pretended defence of read prayers, p. 11. A.D. 1590.

[&]quot;Now for the explication, interpretation, &c. and speech unto God in prayer: God hath given gifts unto men to pray and prophesy, and ordained this ministry of pastors and teachers, whose lively voice is appointed to be the mouth of God unto the people, and of His people unto Himself, in the public assemblies.

CHAP, prayers, upon this ground, because they are the inspirations of the Holy Ghost, may by as good right pretend to decide all matters controverted in point of faith-to order all matters of dispute in the government of the Church-to root out and plant both kingdoms and Churches. For that which the Holy Ghost inspireth for ordering of Church or commonwealth, is as much to be executed as that which it inspireth

for directing the prayers of congregations.

§ 6. But if they disclaim all pretence of immediate inspiration, as there is no doubt but they do, and profess no confidence but of the blessing of God's Spirit upon human endeavours, perhaps complaining that these consequences are drawn upon them, which belong to those opinions which they renounce; first, it will be reason that they be free in acknowledging and professing their meaning in a matter of this consequence, because it is certain that the sound of God's Spirit, and the fashion of extemporary conceptions, in praying and preaching, insinuateth, and needs must insinuate to the people, the pretence of immediate inspirations, which to men? of judgment they are constrained to disavow. Then, this being done, our question will be upon the right hinges, and the point to be decided will be this, whether it be more for the edification of the people, in the direction of their public prayers, to use those forms, which upon mature advice have been framed by the ablest of those the Church had to entrust with that business, or these, which particular persons, out of their readiness in conceiving and expressing those things which they think fit to be said, shall use in their congregations.

Prescript form of fication of the Church.

§ 7. It hath been well observed already in this point, that the spirits of the people are stinted as much to the form which the minister conceiveth, as his spirit to the form which parts of the the Church hath prescribed s. So that if the Church quench for the edi- the Spirit in them, when it confineth them to the forms

> g "Put case one man pray with a thousand that have large spirits, will they say that their spirits are stinted because they are tied up, for the time being, to his spirit? so not we when we pray with others' prayers. Have we a spirit better than the disciples of Christ? and do we know what will

stint them better than Christ 2 yet Christ gave them the Lord's prayer not only to say after that manner, when He taught the doctrine of prayer; but also to say, when He taught them the practice of prayer."—Abbot's Trial of our Church Forsakers, sect. 15. p. 211. London, 1639.

which it hath advised, they do no less to the people in con-CHAP. fining them to the form which they from time to time conceive. The precept of the Apostle cometh to one effect in both courses, the question that remaineth is, which is more for the edification of the people. Which, because the Apostle in matters of this nature hath referred us to the common reason of men not possessed with prejudice, my desire is that the common sense of Christians may sentence; de-216 spairing to carry any thing by dispute of reason, at the hands of such men as can make any question in a matter so

- § 8. But because with reason it may be alleged that men's particular conceptions are more apt to address themselves to the particular occasions of congregations, fit to be represented to God in their prayers than a general form is able to doh, it will be requisite further to represent what advantages this convenience is outweighed with on the other side. First, in regard of abilities of persons by whom it must be performed, let me congratulate with those that are so sensible of their own, that they would have other men, for a punishment of their negligence, to shame themselves afore the people in doing it as it should not be done'. But let me wish them more love to our common profession than to desire to draw so just a scandal upon it. Is it like to grow commendable with the enemies of it in this respect, because the ministry of public prayers is ridiculous to our own people? Or what is the way to make religion and the sacrifice of God stink in men's nostrils, if this do not?
- § 9. Those of the ablest of this opinion think themselves ill dealt with, when the stops and hums of their extemporary prayers are drawn, in consequence, to the prejudice of that

tual, lively, powerful, and operative: and that not only with God, but in the hearts of all those whose joint prayer it is."-Christ on His Throne, case vii.

h "But a godly minister that is best acquainted with the state of his flock, and of the Church of God, can accordingly so enlarge and apply his prayer, by the supply of God's Spirit, as may be most useful to the congregation, as being most accommodate to their spirits, when they find the matter of the prayer to be that, the want whereof they are most sensible of, so as there is here a concurrence of the spirits both of the minister and people, which causeth a prayer to be so much the more effec-

pp. 31, 32. ... "If ... it should appear that any minister should prove insufficient to discharge the duty of prayer, in a conceived way, it may be imposed on him, as a punishment, to use set forms and no other."—Smectymnuus, sect. ii. quere ii. p. 14.

CHAP. way which they desire to render commendablek: but when we vii. hear these flying pretences pass up and down, by which those 217 demurs of human imperfection are entitled to those unutterable groans which the Spirit of God inditeth, according to the Apostle', we have reason not to admire the occasion of such unsufferable profaneness. What shall we say then of the meanest rank of persons, by whom extemporary conceptions and expressions in such high offices must be ministered, but this, that the ill order by which they are vented to the world must needs bring religion to be contemptible?

Order not to be mainwithout it.

§ 10. Again, in regard of men's opinions and inclinationsin regard of several discretions and judgments, in point of what is fit to be recommended to God in public prayers, which way shall we attain that order, that reverence, which this office requireth according to the Apostle? If men be left to themselves-whatsoever opinion in religion-whatsoever debate between neighbours-whatsoever public matter of Church or commonwealth a man shall please to make his interest, upon like reason he may make the subject of his prayers and of the congregation; which if it be not well directed—as what man is free from mistake, where men may be, and always are, of divers opinions-must either pursue his interest for the will of God in their desires, or, as they are bound to be, must be scandalized at that which is done. I 218 had rather belie mine own senses than charge any man with that which appeareth not; but if experience tell us not that such things have been done, that men's prayers in the Church have smoked with their choler in private and public matters, yet reason will tell us how easily it may be done, and such

flames of their fixed conceptions mount up from the altar of their zealous heart unto the throne of grace;' nor had there been so many advantages watched from some stops and seeming solecisms in some men's prayers, to blaspheme the spirit of prayer, which though now confessed to be "'so far from being offensive, that they are as pleasing music in the ears of the Almighty: yet time hath been when they have sounded as mere battologies—nay, no better than mere blasphemies in the ears of some Bi-shops."—Sect. ii.

Rom. viii. 26.

k Bishop Hall, in the Humble Remonstrance, glanced at the "stops and hums" of the Presbyterians in their prayer, yet as if afraid of provoking their resentment; upon which it is observed by Smectymnuus as follows: "In his rhetorical encomium of conceived prayer we shall more willingly bear a part with him than they whose cause he pleads, for had that been in their hearts which is in this book, 'to hate to be guilty of pouring water upon the Spirit, and gladly to add oil rather,' so many learned, able, conscientious preachers had not been molested and suspended, for 'letting the constant

ordinance pointed in time against them that least deserve it CHAP. in Church or commonwealth. As the matter is among us, we see how far men's minds are from being agreed when we are to pray for fair weather and when for rain. Make particular persons infallible judges, not of a thing of that consequence, but of whatsoever may be the subject of our prayers, and we make them all popes in their congregations: make them not infallible, and we multiply scandals in the service of God to the world's end, to which no man should come till all were ended.

§ 11. Last of all, it is not the ingenious conceptions of men's minds-it is not the eloquent expressions of their tongues that God is affected with: the minister's devotion will prove more free towards God, when his mind is less at work in framing terms to express what he conceiveth to be for the purpose. But if we have regard unto the meanest rank in knowledge as well as in estate-which are always the 219 greatest part, and therefore in whom charity hath the most share-it will appear a great advantage to their devotions to run smooth upon the forms to which they are practised, which must needs be intercepted with studying the meaning of new ones which they are directed with. This is that which my reason is able to inform in this point, whether a prescript form of prayers be for the edification of the Church, in maintaining order and reverence in the public service of God, or not. Let us see which way the practice of the Church inclineth or hath inclined: though the manner be great as concerning the meaning of the Apostle's charge and the form of serving God, a man shall have no cause to suspect his own reason, when the reason of the Church and the guides of it go before.

§ 12. But I must begin with the public service of God in Three the temple so far as it was moral, and consisted not in offer- parts of the service ing sacrifices: that carrieth more prejudice with it than man's of the temple. reason can enforce: that which was done there is precedent enough to presume that the like is not against the law of God and the Scripture. Of this we read thus, 1 Chron. xxiii. 30; "And to stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord, and likewise at evening: and at all offering burnt-offerings to the Lord, on the sabbaths, the new moons, and the solemn

CHAP. assemblies." For without doubt the purpose is here to specify 220 at what times the Levites sung the psalms of God's praises to the sacrifices that were offering in the court of the temple, whereof we read afore, 1 Chron. xvi. 4; "And he appointed of the Levites to minister before the ark of the Lord: and to record, and thank, and praise the Lord God of Israel." And again, ver. 37, the same is repeated. But afterwards, having spoken of the priests whom David left to sacrifice upon the Altar at Gibeon, it followeth, ver. 41; "And with them Heman, and Jeduthun, and the rest that were chosen, that were expressed by name to give thanks to the Lord, because His mercy endureth for ever." Here you shall perceive the time and the place of this service expressed in Scripture. Part of them with Asaph were to minister before the ark, part with Heman and Jeduthun to give thanks unto the Lord, where the priests offered the burnt-offering morning and evening, ver. 40, for the time that the Altar was at Gibeon, the ark in the city of David.

§ 13. But for a perpetual course, as you have it, xxiii. 30; "To stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord, and likewise at evening: and at all offering of burnt-offerings to the Lord, in the sabbaths, in the new moons, and on the assemblies." For thus it must here be translated, as R. David Kimchi hath glossed it, that they should also be ready to praise when the burnt-sacrifice is offered on the sabbaths, 221 and new moons, and days of assemblies; and also to help the priests on these days when there are many offerings. For by this exposition is signified both the help which the priests had from the Levites in sacrificing, and also the kinds of sacrifices at which the Levites sung psalms of praise and thanksgiving. Maimonim Cele hammihdash, cap. iii. יומתי ונו "And when do they sing? Over all the burnt-offerings of the congregation which were due, and over the peace-offerings of an assembly, at the pouring of the wine: but the voluntary burnt-offerings of the congregation, over these they sung not the song." A rule without doubt raised from the Scripture alleged; and the place here signified where they stood to sing, that is, before the ark, is the same that is signi-

m Constitutiones de vasis sanctuarii. tiq. Sacr., tom. viii. p. 922. Venet. 1747. Cap. iii. 2. apud Ugolini Thesaur. An-

fied at Solomon's sacrifice, 2 Chron. v. 12, where they stood CHAP. "east from the Altar," as it must be translated, that is, at the east gate of the temple, either before the men's court or before the women's court. For at both these gates there was a pulpit for the Levites, where, at all these times, stood twelve at the least for this purpose, Maimoni as before. And before the latter were those fifteen steps from which the fifteen Psalms of degrees are named, because they were sung there, as the Talmudists will have it, Mass. Middoth, cap. ii. num. 222 5, 6ⁿ, and the annotations upon it. To this must be added that memorable passage of the Samaritan Chronicle, published not long sinceo, the tenor whereof is this, "The High-Priest living at that time," that is, the year of the world 4513, by their account, "took away that most excellent book which was in their hands ever since the calm and peaceable time of the Israelites, which contained those songs and prayers which were ever used before their sacrifices. For before every of their several sacrifices they had their several songs, still used in those times of peace, all which, accurately written, were transmitted to the subsequent generations, from the time of the legate" Moses "unto this day, by the ministry of the High-Priest." For this whole passage speaketh clearly of the service of God in the temple, shewing us that besides the book of Psalms there were other songs used at the sacrifices of their several solemnities, which were, according to the course of their service, put together in one book for the

§ 14. There was besides another part of the service done The conin the temple, which men of learning have hit upon by con-sins. jecture, out of Rev. viii. 3; "And another angel came and stood at the Altar, having a golden censer, and there was

conterat ejus ossa—which in their computation falls upon the year 4513 from Adam; Quo tempore abstulit, etc., At which time, say they, he took away, &c."
"The High-Priest then living," in the margin, Thorndike has varied into "the High-Priest living at that time." In the Bishop's Short Answer to the tedious Vindication of Smeetymnuus, p. 38. is printed a Latin translation, of 38, is printed a Latin translation, of which the extract in the text is a more correct version than that given by Bishop Hall.

<sup>Surenhusii, Mischna, tom. v. pp. 342—344. Amstelodam. 1698.
By Bishop Hall in his Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, pp. 17, 18.
He prefaces the extract thus; "In the</sup> He prefaces the extract thus; "In the Samaritan Chronicle, now in the hands of the incomparable Primate of Ireland, the Lord Archbishop of Armagh [Usher], by him procured out of the library of the famously learned Joseph Scaliger, thus they find, after relation of the death of Adrian the Emperor—whom these Jews curse with a Deus

CHAP, given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints, upon the golden Altar which was before the throne:" joined with Luke i. 10, "And the whole 223 multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense." From which text Lud. Cappellusp collected, that while the priest offered his incense in the tabernacle the people were at their prayers abroad, and that St. John's vision alludeth to nothing else. Whereupon our Mead of Christ's College very ingeniously conceived that where it is said there, ver. 1, "When he had opened the seventh seal there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour," all this was represented in resemblance of the service of the temple, where first the praises of God are sung, as it is before, vii. 9, then there is silence for half an hour, while the priest within offereth the incense, and the people without pray for remission of sins every one by themselves. For so I find this conjecture verified in Pirke Aboth. cap. v. 5r, where one of the ten miracles which the Jews relate fell out continually in the service of God in the temple, is this, עומדום צפופים ומשתחוים רוחים, that is, "they stood crowded, but they worshipped at large," which R. Obadiah Bartenora proceedeth thus to expound upon the meaning of the word לשון צפופוס על פני המים, "It hath the sense," saith he, "from swimming upon the face of the waters: for because of the crowd every one pressed his fellow, so that they stood swimming as it were, with their feet lifted up from the ground, in the air. At the time of worshipping, the miracle happened to them 224 that they worshipped at large every man four cubits from the next, that he might not hear him when he confessed and remembered his sins." Wherefore they stood while the Levites sung at pouring the wine upon the burnt-offering, but when the priest went to offer the incense, then fell every man down to make confession of his sins in private. Which being done, the holy priest, coming out into the court, pro-

P Apud Critic. Sacr., tom. vii. col. 4771. in Apoc. viii. 3. 9 Pro templi nempe ritu in istius modi sacro obeundo. Constat enim, in sacris ubivis ferè gentium Silentium de religione fuisse . . . id a populo Dei observatum tum, cum incensum fieret. Dum enim sacrificia offerebantur quæ

prima pars λειτουργίαs fuit, templum canticis... personabat, at tempore incensi omnia silebant et populus tacite secum precabatur.—In Sancti Johannis Apocalypsin Commentarius. Pars i. de Sigillis, lib. iii. p. 568. London, 1663.
Surenhus. Mischna, tom. iv. p.

nounced the benediction appointed in the law over the CHAP,

people, which was the end of service. § 15. Of this, Maimoni of Prayer, and the Priests' Blessing, The xiv. 9. "In the temple, after the morning service was done, blessing. the priests went up into the pulpit to bless:" which maketh me presume that the order of service in the temple was no otherwise than hath been declared. Which Ecclesiasticus seemeth punctually to describe in Onias, chap. l. 15-17. "He stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape; he poured out at the foot of the Altar a sweet-smelling savour unto the most high King of all. Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard for a remembrance before the Most High. Then all the people together hasted, and fell down to the earth upon their faces, to worship their Lord God Almighty, the Most High." When the wine was poured forth, 225 and the priests blew the trumpets within, at festivals, it is to be understood that the Levites sung the praises of God without at the same time, as we saw afores: and so it followeth in the next words, wherein this description is repeated, ver. 18, 19. "The singers also sang praises with their voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody. And the people besought the Lord the Most High, by prayer before Him that is merciful, till the solemnity of the Lord was ended, and they had finished His service." After all followeth the priest's blessing, as Maimoni said, ver. 20, 21; "Then he went down, and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoice in His name. And they bowed themselves down to worship the second time, that they might receive a blessing from the Most High." I make no doubt but there was time for reading and

§ 16. In this course of service then the prayer, wherewith each of them confessed their sins, was private and at pleasure, the rest was all by prescript form. The priest's blessing expressed in Scripture, the praises of God out of the book

expounding the law in the temple, as it hath been touched; but because I find no remembrance of it in this service, and because it concerneth not the point in hand, I let it alone.

CHAP. of Psalms, and others for the purpose. And this is the strength of that argument that is drawn from the titles of the 226 Psalms, shewing that they were indited for the purpose of praising God, and praying to Him, as the tenor of them is. Two or three of these titles it shall not be amiss to produce here. Psalm iv. and all the rest where the title is "To the chief Musician," the Chaldee translateth לשבחא, "to sing," or "to praise:" to tell us that they were Psalms composed for the master of music, to be used in the service of the temple. xcii. "A Psalm, a Song for the Sabbath day:" it is a pleasant thing to read the vagaries of the Jews upon this title, from whence they conceive this Psalm to be made by Adam, after his fall on the Friday, to serve God with on the Sabbath t; whereas the meaning in our observation is plain, that it was composed to be sung in the service of the temple on the Sabbath, which the very tenor of the Psalm enforceth when it saith, ver. 4, "For Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through Thy works: I will triumph in the works of Thy hands:" pointing at the meditation of the creation upon the Sabbath, as the Jews expound it. Last, the title of those fifteen Psalms after the hundred and twentieth, called "Psalms of degrees," expounded as afore, from the fifteen steps between the men's court and that of the priests, is assurance enough that they were made to serve God with there. By which it appeareth that the prophets of God and their disciples-that 227 the great wise men of the Jews-that the Apostles of our Lord, when they frequented this service, as shall be said, thought not their spirits stinted by the prescript form of it.

The service of the synamuch upon this in the temple; neither is it in me to imagine
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the synamuch upon this in the temple; neither is it in me to imagine
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the synamuch upon this in the temple is neither in the synamuch upon this in the temple is neither in the synamuch upon this in the temple is neither in the synamuch upon this in the temple is neither in the synamuch upon this in the temple is neither in the synamuch upon this in the temple is neither in the synamuch upon this in the temple is neither in the synamuch upon this in the temple is neither in the synamuch upon this in the synamuch upon the synamuch upon this in the synamuch upon t temple should not fit the synagogue. The way to put this past peradventure had been to describe the particulars of that service, and to trace the antiquity of them, from their best writings; but a discourse too long and obscure for this place. I shall be content to produce two or three passages of the substance or circumstance of it, by which shall appear whatsoever alterations it hath received, as at the present in the substance of their service all agree, though for the particulars

¹ See R. Eliezer in Pirke, cap. xix. p. 42. ed. Vorst. Lugd. Batav. 1644.

there is not more difference among the Jews of several coun- CHAP. tries in any thing than in this, saith Leo Modena in the piece named afore", p. 1. chap. xi. 6, that a prescript form was used among them under the second temple, while they continued the people of God.

§ 18. The order whereof, for my part, I must needs refer of the eighteen to the ancient scribes that succeeded the prophets; as mine benedic-

author R. Moses Maimoni hath expressed in the first particu-tions. 228 lar which I intend to allege, that is, the eighteen benedictions, wherein, praising God, they beg at His hands the supply of His daily blessings. These, in his treatise of Prayer and Benediction of the Priests, cap. i. 2x, he referreth to Ezra as the author of them, when being returned from the captivity it was found that the people was not able to praise and serve God in a continued speech, their language being mixed with that of strangers. I confess I should have thought it a more probable reason to have said that they were composed as a direction for the service of God, both in public and private, as still their use is: but for this author's credit it is very well known that all his stuff cometh from the best writings which that people have. And the agreement of the Jews of all countries in these and the other benedictions, whereof they are bound to say every day an hundred, and that of old, sufficiently sheweth how ancient they are, when other ingredients of their service are subject to change with times and places: as their hymns for example, whereof is to be seen at large, in Abenezra upon Ecclesiastes, v. 1, where he disputeth against those of R. Eliezer Hakkalir, preferring before them those which R. Saadiah Haggaon had made.

§ 19. The second particular that I will produce is the ser- of the ser-229 vice of the seven days' fast, described in the same Maimoni, vice of their fast Taanioth, cap. iv. 15, how it was performed in Jerusalem. His of seven days. words are to this effect; כשהיו ונו, "When they prayed after this order in Jerusalem, they went into the mountain of the temple against the east gate, and when the Apostle of the congregation was come to, 'He that heard Abraham,'" the prayer that ended thus, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord God, our

Chap. iii. sect. 18. See Owen's lib. iii. par. 2. cap. xiv. p. 1032, sqq. anslation, p. 42.
 See Vitringa de Synagoga vetere, zov., Lipsiæ. 1662. translation, p. 42.

CHAP. God, the God of Israel, from generation to generation.

VII.

Blessed be Thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel. The people answer, Blessed be the glorious and dreadful name of God, whose kingdom is to all generations and evermore. And the officer of the synagogue saith to the priests that blow the trumpets," according to the law, Num. x. 9, "Sound ye sons of Aaron, sound: and again he prayeth." This is a form then which was in use during the temple upon that occasion, and giveth presumption enough that there was the

like for all other ordinary and extraordinary ones.

§ 20. And at this occasion in particular is the rule verified which saith "that the people did not answer Amen within the mountain of the temple;" Gem. Hierosol. Taanioth, cap. ii., Babylon Beracoth, cap. ix.a; which rule is enough to prove my intent, because it sheweth that there were certain forms among them—the same that still are extant—which when they were used in the synagogue the people answered Amen in the end; but when they were used in the mountain of the temple, that is, within the outmost compass of it, 230 the people's answer was, as afore, "Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom to all generations and evermore." And the case is related in the Mischna Taanioth, cap. ii. 5b, that whereas once this answer was used in the synagogue, the matter came before the wise-and, as I remember, it was before the great sanedrin at Sippore, during the time that it sat there, being removed from Jerusalem, whereof afore and their resolution was, that it was not so practised but only at the east gate and in the mountain of the temple; that is, as Maimoni and Bartenora both expound itd, at the east gate of the temple, and at the eastern gate of the mountain of the temple. To make the meaning of their resolution to be this, that the answer of the people aforesaid, instead of Amen, which they used to answer in the synagogue, was only practised after the benediction of the priests which they gave at the east gate of the temple, as was said, and at this service of the fast of seven days in Jerusalem, where it was done at the

^{*} Constitut, xi. ap. Ugolin. Thesaur.

Antiq. Sacr., tom. xviii. p. 730.

* Le Talmud de Babylone traduit en langue Française, par L'Abbé L. Chi-arini, tom. ii. p. 347. Leipzie. 1831.

b Surenhus. Mischna, tom. ii. pp. 365, 366. Chap. iii. sect. 16.

d Surenhus. ut supr.

east gate of the mountain of the temple, the outmost close of CHAP. it. But seeing the same service was done throughout their synagogues as the cause required, of necessity the same form was used upon those occasions, and the like upon others.

§ 21. The last particular I shall produce is a circumstance The dea-231 observable at all their services, that whereas the reading of nistered the law and other Scriptures and the exposition of it was their service. done by principal persons, the chief of the synagogue, with their faces turned to the people as they sat, as our Lord in the synagogue of Nazareth, Luke iv. 16-20; on the other side the prayers were read by him whom they call apparitor of the synagogue-correspondent to the deacon in the Christian Church—with his back to the people, and his face to the ark and to the elders. This office, though of good account in the synagogue, as we see in Maimoni of Prayer, chap. viii. num. 11, being yet inferior to the scribes and wise, it is plain to my common sense that it was not entrusted to direct the prayers of their betters in qualities proper to that work upon other ground than this, because the prayers had been composed by those wise and learned afore, and were therefore ministered by their inferiors, the deacons of synagogues.

§ 22. Such is he of whom Luke iv. 20; "And he closed the book and gave it again to the minister, and sat down." Such is he that is called "apostle of the congregation" in Maimoni, the place aforesaid, that pronounceth the service prescribed there, and to shew that it was no late practice among them which he prescribeth, is called in the Mischna, Beracoth, cap. v. 3, 4°, Taanioth, cap. ii. 2f, היורד לפני תיבה "he 232 that cometh down before the ark:" the reason, if my conjecture mistake not, being this, because the place where he sat among the elders was higher than that of the people by some steps, so that he must come down those steps to stand before them, with his back to the people, in doing service: as R. Benjamin in his Itinerary, p. 75, describeth the chief synagogue at Bagdad, that before the ark there were ten stairs of marble, in the top whereof sat the head of the captivity, of the lineage of David.

§ 23. Now it is to be known that things related in the

Surenhus. Mischna, tom. i. pp. ' Surenhus. Mischna, tom. ii. p. 363. 18, 19.

CHAP. Mischna, written in the days of Antoninus Pius, are not to be understood as if they were of no greater standing than that time, but are the most ancient orders of that people, practised and delivered long afore from hand to hand, as things not lawful to be committed to writing, and then first written, for fear that their manifold dispersions might bring their rules and orders into oblivion, as themselves profess. And from that first title of the Mischna we have enough to convince this whole point, if Scaliger's judgment may take place. For there we have divers cases of those prayers which still they use, resolved by doctors that lived not long after our Lord's time. And Scaliger's judgment is, vi. de Emend. Temp.8, that there is no more question to be made, whether those resolutions be the resolutions of those doctors to whom they are entitled there, than whether the resolutions of the old Roman sages, preserved in the digests of the civil law, be their own or not. Thus must needs those prayers be far more ancient than the time of our Lord, concerning the formal terms whereof-cases never disputed at that time-see the Mischna Beracoth, cap. iv. 3, cap. v. 2.h

> § 24. As for the practice of the Church next to the Apostles, let me use the advantage which is due to the truth, and prescribe one thing, in their way, that intend to prove it to be against the Scripture, and the Apostle, forbidding to stint the Spirit, to use prescript forms in praying, -which is this; that it is not enough for their purpose to shew out of some Church-writers that some Churches might refer themselves, in the direction of their devotions, to their Bishops or to 233 their presbyters; but it behoveth them to shew that they did it as acknowledging that sense of the Apostle, alleging their reason, and forbearing it as against Scripture. For there is a great deal of reason why that course might be tolerable and sufficient in the beginning, while the Church was oppressed by the secular powers of the empire, and the fear of

jurisconsultorum quorum nomine ci-tantur.-De Emendat. Temp., lib. vi. in capite Residua Passionis Dominico p. 537. Lugd. Batav., 1598. h Surenhus. Mischna, tom. i.

g Hic fuit vetus ritus celebrationis Pascha temporibus Messiæ, quod vetustissimi canones in Digestis Talmudicis manifesto probant, nisi quis eos neget antiquos esse, quod idem ac si quis capita Papiniani, Pauli, Ulpiani, et aliorum jurisconsultorum in Digestis Justiniani producta, neget esse eorum

¹ Smectymnuus, sect. ii. p. 7.

persecution contained the people in respect to the orders of CHAP. their pastors, and them in respect to their office, which afterwards, when the world was come into the Church, and the empire become Christian, would not serve the turn. Then as it was requisite that all rules of the Church should receive force from the secular arm, so might it prove requisite that the order of public service should be settled in a prescript form, though it had been left to the discretion of particular persons afore, in regard of that good and bad fish that was come into the net, and might take the occasions pointed at to make rents in it.

§ 25. But I allege this exception to put them in mind that Justin

no ecclesiastical writer hath yet been alleged to use their and Terreasons, which giveth just evidence of the novelty of the opi-tullian misundernion grounded on it: not because I do think the cause need-stood.

eth it, or that any time of the Church can be shewed, after 234 the Apostles, and the time of extraordinary graces, wherein a prescript form of public service hath not been used; much less that any such thing is proved by the words of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, produced out of their Apologies for the Christians, wherein they inform the powers of the empire what the Christians did at their assemblies; which had they been but turned right into English, would have made it appear that they enforce either another sense, or quite contrary to that which they are produced to prove. The words of Justin, the place afore-named, Apol. i.k: Καὶ, ὡς προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ήμων της εύχης, άρτος προσφέρεται και οίνος και ύδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεστώς, εὐχὰς ὁμοίως, καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῶ, αναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ, λέγων τὸ αμὴν, which they! translate "Then he who instructed the people prayed according to his ability." 'Ο προεστώς they translate "he that instructed the people;" signifying "him that governed the people," to wit, in ecclesiastical matters. True it is the same person did both, but the same word signifieth not both: this by the way.

§ 26. But ὅση δύναμις they translate "according to his ability," as if κατὰ δύναμιν and ὅση δύναμις were both one. You shall see a difference by the Hebrew. Their ancient

C H A P. doctors have this saying, בל האומר ונו, "Whosoever saith Amen with all his might, the gate of the garden of Eden is opened to him," Musar. cap. iv. And in the same manner of speech Maimoni describing their morning service, chap. ix. 1, "And 235 the people answer, 'Amen: be His great name blessed for ever, and to all everlastings,' with all their might." Whereas the same Rabbi in another place, Taanioth, cap. iv. 2, describing the speech of him that preached humiliation to the people at the fast of seven days, whereof afore, addeth; "and proceedeth in such like discourses, according to his ability, until he humble their hearts and they repent perfectly." In the Hebrew it is here כפי כחן, in the other places בכל כחו the first is in Greek κατά δύναμιν, the other δση δύναμις; in English that signifieth "according to his ability," this "with all his might," so much difference there is, and the mistake it causeth no less than thus: they will needs make Justin dream as much as themselves do of making show of men's faculties in conceiving prayers^m, who speaketh of nothing but that earnestness of devotion with which he saith the Bishop or presbyter came to consecrate the Eucharist, more proper, without doubt, to that prime point of God's service; which he thus expresseth, "That he sendeth forth prayers and thanksgivings with all his might." In fine, when Justin, speaking of the thanksgiving which the Eucharist was consecrated with, saith that he made it don divaus, "with all his might," he meaneth neither more nor less than afore, 236 speaking of the common prayers of the people, which he saith

§ 27. The words of Tertullian, Apolog. cap. xxx. Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis; capite nudo, quia non erubescimus; denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus, precantes sumus semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus. It is justly excepted that these words are not to the purpose, as

they made εὐτόνως, or "earnestly," as shall be said.

of public assemblies; secondly, know that if he did the place is to your disadvantage; for—as a late learned author well urges—would ye have it imagined that the assembled Christians did betake themselves publicly to their private devotions each man by himself, as his own heart dictated?"—Answer to the Vindication, &c. sect. ii. p. 24.

[&]quot;Prayer being ended they went to the Sacrament, in the beginning whereof the president of the assembly poured out prayers and thanksgiving according to his ability, and the people said Amen."—A Vindication of the Answer, &c. by Smeetymnuus, sect. ii. p. 15.

p. 15.

a " Prove first that Tertullian speaks

containing the private devotions of Christians compared with CHAP. those of the Pagans. Nevertheless, the subject of these prayers, which he prosecuteth afterwards, is the same with the prayers of their assemblies, whereof he speaketh cap. xxxix.º and giveth just cause to think that he speaketh of private forms of devotion borrowed from the public. He saith there that Christians prayed with hands stretched out, to protest their innocency; bare-headed, to profess that they were not ashamed touching the Gentiles, that covered hands and faces in praying, which he interpreteth a confession of guilt in the hands, an acknowledgment of shame in the face, which that habit signified, as hath been said : and in the same strain he goeth on to tell them that whereas they had their remembrancers to suggest the devotions they addressed to their several deities, which he called monitors,—the Christians prayed without monitors, because they prayed by heart. There is a reason why the heathens had prompters to suggest unto them the devotions which they addressed to several deities, because they counted several deities properly able to bestow several blessings, and accordingly held several rites proper for their service, which it was sacrilege to perform otherwise. Arnobius contra Gentes, iii.q: Usque adeo res exigit propriatim Deos scire, nec ambigere, nec dubitare de uniuscujusque vi, nomine, ne si alienis ritibus et appellationibus fuerint invocati, et aures habeant structas, et piaculis nos teneant inexpiabilibus obligatos. "So far it concerns, particularly to know the gods, without ambiguity or doubt of the virtue and name of each; lest when they are called upon by the rites and names of others they both have their ears stopped, and hold us ensnared with inexpiable sacrileges." See there afore. So Tertullian, according to this sense, makes a very pertinent apposition between the heathen that prayed as they were prompted and the heathen that prayed by heart.

§ 28. For the words, sine monitore, quia de pectore, of Tertullian, affected always to imitate and express the Greek, are to my best apprehension the translation of that which is called in Greek, ἀποστηθίζειν, in English, "to say by heart:" and

CHAP. so they could not have shewed a passage more pregnant with the sense they intended to destroy, that they prayed by prescript forms.

Sum of the service.

§ 29. The fairest proof we can make that the Church, after the Apostles' time, and the use of extraordinary graces, betook themselves to prescript forms of prayer, as well as other parts of God's service, will be from the parts of it. The Psalms of David, in the first place, do mix prayers with the praises of God, and are no extemporary conceptions, yet were always one of the first parts of public service, as shall appear in due time. As for other hymns of private composure, Conc. Laod., Canon xv. τ: Περί τοῦ μὴ δείν πλέον των κανονικών ψαλτών, των έπι του αμβωνα αναβαινόντων, και από διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, έτέρους τινάς ψάλλειν εν έκκλησία. "That besides enrolled singers that go up into the desk, and sing out of the parchmine, others ought not to sing in the church." Canon lix.*: "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμούς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία. "That psalms of private persons must not be said in the church." These canons seem to make opposition between those that came from private persons, and those that were entered in the church books. These only to be sung out of those books by clergy chanters, enrolled in the list of the church, that other persons might take no occasion to bring any into use, besides those that were prescribed and received.

§ 30. I find that to meet with the poison of Arius, Sicut in principio was added to Gloria Patri in the church service. And I have heard, that to meet with the poison of Pelagius they took up the custom to put Dei Gratia in titles and inscriptions of letterst. But that the custom of using such set forms was taken up first, because the Arian and Pelagian heresies conveyed and spread themselves by that means, is

Quemadmodum etiam ad eundem Arianorum errorem refellendum ac coarguendum constitutum fuit-ut ex Vasensi Concilio ii. cap. v. constat.-ut Glorificationis hymno-sic appellabant Patres hymnum Gloria Patri et Spiritui Sancto—adderentur es verbs, Sicut erat in principio, &c.—Ferrarii de antiq. Ec-cles. Epist. Genere, cap. v. p. 21. Me-diolan. 1613. See Cardinal Bona de Sing. Part. Divin. Psalm. vi. 2. p. 826. Antverp. 16

[&]quot; Circa A.D. 364. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1533. ed. Venet.

1b., col. 1540.

Quemadmodum enim ad Pelagii hæresin ejiciendam prorsus et evellendam, consueverunt illius temporis patres in epistolarum suarum principio misericordia Dei et Gratia in-digentes sese appellare ut observavit Baron. ad ann. 415. [num. 3], eam referens epistolam quam Lucianus dederat, cujus illa erat inscriptio Lucianus misericordia Dei indigens

strange news to hear". It might have been said with more CHAP. reason of the hymns of Valentinus, so long afore, which Tertullian taxeth, De carne Christi, cap. xvii.x And let impartial reason answer the question, whether it be more like if any such thing were, that they should make that advantage, because set forms were then in practice, or whether the Church should fall to use that course, because it was first taken up by these heresies.

§ 31. In reading and expounding the Scriptures, the ques- [of prayer tion is not made. But that is the particular wherein I must before sermons, yield something of private conception to have been used in the primitive Church service. It is believed that in the flourishing times of the Church, preachers were wont, in the beginning of their sermons, to commend themselves and their 239 labours to God's blessing; the form is extant which St. Ambrose usedy, neither do we find that it was not at their own choice. But after the sermon, the catechumeni or hearersthose that were under penance—those that were vexed with unclean spirits, were dismissed with the several prayers of the congregation and benedictions of the Bishop or presby-

§ 32. The first was of those which the Apostle calleth [Origin of "supplications" and "intercessions," not only for the general fitanies.] and particular necessities both of the congregation and the members of it, but of all members of Church and commonwealth, together or in particular, which are the same for substance which have since been called "litanies." The second was that "thanksgiving," from which that Sacrament is still called the Eucharist, because it was always consecrated with

ter, on their several behalfs. When that was done, the prayers which were used at the Eucharist, by the congregation that was admitted to it, were of two sorts, as shall be shewed afterwards, when I come to compare the service which

this Church useth with that of the primitive.

a "Nor was this liberty in prayer taken away, and set and imposed forms introduced, until the time that the Arian and Pelagian heresies did invade the Church; and then, because those heretics did convey and spread their poison in their forms of prayer and Church thought it conve-

in the liberty of making forms."—Smeetym-

nuus, sect. ii. p. 7.

* Sed remisso Alexandro cum suis syllogismis, quos in argumentationibus torquet, etiam cum psalmis Valentini, quos magna impudentia quasi idonei alicujus auctoris interserit.—De Carne Christi liber, p. 551, ed. Pam. Rothom.

Ferrarius, de Ritu Concionum, lib. i. cap. viii. p. 26. Mediolan, 1620.

CHAP. it; wherein remembrance was made of all the blessings of God's providence, in particular, that of our Lord Christ, which it pretendeth to commemorate with prayer that His ordinance may be effectual to the present. I know there followed thanksgiving after the communion, beside other pieces of 240 that service, as shall be said: which I regard not so much now, because they seem not to have been of such consideration in the frame of their service.

All pre-

§ 33. My intent is to shew in due time that these were the prayers practised upon the Apostle's order, 1 Tim. ii. 1: "I exhort therefore, before all, that prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men: for kings and all that are in eminence:" that they are the same which the Apostle intimateth, and specifieth to have been practised at that time, when he saith, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16, "I will pray with the Spirit, but I will pray also with the understanding: I will sing with the Spirit, but I will sing also with the understanding: else when thou blessest with the Spirit, how shall he that filleth the place of the ignorant say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest?" in fine, that these intercessions whereof the Apostle speaketh, Rom. viii. 26, when he saith, "The Spirit itself intercedeth for us with groans not to be uttered," are the same which in the primitive Church were solemn and perpetual before celebrating the Eucharist according to St. Chrysostom's exposition averred afore. This must be done after we have shewed what reason there is to think that the Eucharist was celebrated at these assemblies whereof the Apostle writeth to the Corinthians, chap. xiv. In the mean time, 241 as concerning the prayers for hearers, penitents, and possessed persons, as well as the said supplications and intercessions, that they were all done by prescript form, let me argue as I did afore, of the prayers of the synagogue, because they were ministered by the deacon, as St. Chrysostom said, and as it shall appear afterwards, by the remembrance we shall find of the custom of the Church. For I suppose no reason will yield that the Church referred themselves to be directed in their public service by that rank of ministers.

[Both at the Eucharist.] § 34. As for the thanksgiving which the Sacramen

² Chap. v. sectt. 21, 22.

* Sect. 21. chap. v. see

consecrated with, I will here use no more than the words of CHAP. St. Cyprian, de Lapsish, Serm. xiv. Ubi verò solennibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre præsentibus cæpit, &c., and in another place where he calleth it Calix benedictione solenni sacratusc, and ask whether the Eucharist were consecrated with an extempore prayer, in Justin or Tertullian's time, the form whereof by St. Cyprian's time was become solemn. Which question perhaps need not be asked, if we consider that St. Cyprian spake in his master's terms, who, when he nameth Dominica solemnia, and again, post transacta solennia, de Anima, cap. ix.d, must needs be understood to mean the same, to wit, the solemn prayers which the Eucharist was celebrated with. For indeed the latter of these two passages of St. Cyprian, I think is out of a work intitled to him, but none of his own. Of the preface Sursum Corda, remembered by the same St. Cyprian, de oratione Dominicae-and yet extant in all ancient liturgies as well as ours-as well as of other particulars, there will be occasion to speak afterwards.

§ 35. From that which hath been said of a prescript form [And at 242 of prayer at celebrating the Eucharist, I will take upon me times. to presume no less of other services at other assemblies. Conc. Laod. can. xviii. taketh order, Περὶ τοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν των εύχων πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς έσπέραις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι: "that the same service of prayers ought to be performed both at ninth hours," at three afternoon, "and evenings." It hath been said of lates, that this canon first confined the prayers of the Church to a set form, commanding to use always the same, but such an one as every one composed for his own turn. This is argued from the

b P. 132. ed. Oxon. 1682.

prove our assertion, we brought the words of the council of Carthage, which our Remonstrant derides as gross absurdity, to explicate the council of Laodicæa by that of Carthage, which is yet no more than Zonaras did before us."—Vindication of the Answer to the

e De Cœna Domini, p. 39. ed. Oxon.

<sup>See note y, chap. v. sect. 9.
P. 152. ed. Oxon.
Circ. A.D. 364. Labbei, tom. i. col.</sup> 1533. ed. Venet.

[&]quot; "The Laodicean council did forbid men's varying their prayers as they did, and did enjoin all men to use the

same prayers περι τοῦ, κ. τ. λ. This, Remonstrant saith, we said was a form of man's own "
we said of -

h "It appears, first, that this canon was made for poor ignorant priests, &c.... Secondly, that when this canon was made there was no set form in use in the Church, &c. . . . Thirdly, that

limiting or circumscribing the in prayer was such as did not

CHAP. third council of Carthage 1-after this of Laodicea-can. xxiii., where it is said, Et quicunque sibi preces aliunde describit, non eis utatur, nisi priùs eas cum instructioribus fratribus contulerit. "And whosoever copieth out prayers for his use, from any where, let him not use them till he have debated them with his more learned brethren." Afterwards, that the forms to be used be first allowed in the synod, we are toldk was first ordered in the second council of Milevis¹, some few years The words are these: Placuit etiam et illud, ut preces, vel orationes, seu missæ, quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur in Ecclesia, nisi quæ à prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in synodo fuerint, nè fortè aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel 243 per minus studium sit compositum. "It seemed good also that those prayers, or masses, which have been allowed in the council, whether prefaces, or commendations, or impositions of hands, be frequented of all; so that none at all be said in the Church, but such as have been treated by the more discreet, or allowed in the synod, lest perhaps something against the faith be composed, either through ignorance or too little heed."

Of the

§ 36. With what judgment these bold conjectures are im-Arrican councils.] posed upon the world for truth, is now to be considered. First, it is acknowledged on all sides, among men of learning, that there is a great deal of confusion in these African canons, as they have been published in the collection of councils. In particular, by Justellus' preface and edition of those canons, it appeareth that the council which is there called the third of Carthage, Casario et Attico Coss. A.D. 397, did make canons, which are yet extant in the code published by Justellus, in number twenty-three; the rest of the fifty fathered upon it are packed together, most of them, out of the council

> tie him to a set liturgy, but he might use the help of any other prayer, so he did [but] confer with the more learned of his brethren." - Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance,

serve that this is the first mention of prayers to be appoved or ratified in a synod, and the restraining to the use of them we have made it good that, liberty in prayer was not taken away, and set forms imposed till the Arian and Pelagian heresies invaded the Church."—Vindication of the An-

p. 21. i A.D. 397. Labbei, tom. ii. col.

^{* &}quot;The Milevitan council went something further the canon is this Placuit ctiam, &c. Where we ob-

swer, pp. 21, 22.

1 A.D. 416. xii. col. 383,

of Carthage in which that code was enacted, Post Cons. Ho- CHAP. norii xii. et Theod. viii. A.D. 419, whereof nevertheless this is none m. But this second council of Milevis n, Theod. vii. et Palladio Coss. A.D. 416, decreed indeed against Pelagius 244 and Celestiuso, but made no canons whereof we have just remembrance: the twenty-seven fathered upon it are packed together out of divers African councils, one whereof is that of Carthage, Honorio vii. et Theod. ii. Coss. A.D. 407, among the canons whereof there is one, which, in the copy published first in Greek by Du Tillet, since with the original Latin by Justellusq, is in number one hundred and three, in these terms: Placuit etiam hoc, ut preces quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur: nec aliæ omnino contra fidem præferantur-in the collection called the African council, proferantur-sed quæcunque à prudentioribus fuerint collectæ*, dicantur. "This also seemed good, that these prayers which have been allowed in the council, whether prefaces, or commendations, or impositions of hands, be frequented of all: so that by no means others against the faith be preferred," or "said," "but these that have been composed by the more discreet be said." Balsamon upon this canont, 'Ως ἔοικε, τινèς ἐπίσκοποι ἐπεγείρουν λέγειν εὐχὰς ἀσυνήθεις. "It seemeth some Bishops took upon them to say prayers not customed."

m Quod vero adjiciunt Casario et Attico Coss. concilium Carthaginense aliquod fuisse quod tertium vocant, minus repudio, quia Zonaras et Balsamo Græci canonum collectores id testantur, ipsaque, quam nunc restituimus, Africana collectio indicat. Sed falluntur cum illi concilio ascribunt quinquaginta canones, quorum xxi. tantum ad illud pertinere reperiuntur: reliqui vero fere omnes ascribendi sunt concilio Carthaginensi, quod tempore Bonifacii P. R. habitum fuisse acta synodalia testantur. Bonifacius enim Casario et Attico Coss. nondum erat Episcopus quem sub consulatu Honorii zii, et Theodosii viii. A.D. ccccxcvIII. v. calend. Januarii ordinatum fuisse constat.—Justell, Præfat, in Codic, Can, Eccles, African. p. 317. Paris, 1661.

Hoe enim concilium, xiv. post annis -- mlatu Theodosii vii, et Palladii n habitum est et

ex diversis conciliis Africanis collecti sunt, Milevitano scilicet primo, &c .-

Ib., p. 317.

o Falluntur ergo conciliorum collectores qui dixerunt Milevitanum concilium contra Pelagium et Celestium celebratum esse Arcadio et Honorio, A. A. Coss. anno Christi eccen.—Ib., pp. 316, 317. Paris. 1661.

P Johannes Tillius, Bishop of St. Brieu in Normandy, and afterwards of Meaux. His Collection was published in 1540 at Paris.

 Biblioth. Jur. Can. p. 386.
 Labbei, tom. iii. can. lxx. col. 521. ed. Venet.

* Cum prudentioribus fuerint col-latæ. Labbei, ib.

[†] Theodor. Balsamon. Comment. in Can. SS. Apost. Concil. Gener. Pro-vincial. in Synod. Carthagin. can. cvi, p. 726, Paris. 1620. Et apud Bevereg. Synodik. tom. i. p. 640. Oxon. 1672. HAP.
VII.
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§ 37. It seemeth indeed inconvenience was perceived, by the inconformity of particular episcopal Churches, upon alterations made by the ministers of them in their form of service. Therefore it is provided that the service to be used be first approved in the usual synod of the African Churches, 245 that all episcopal Churches of those provinces might be conformable. But this supposeth a form which those Churches had, how should else provision be made against alteration in it? and this being without doubt the authentic canon from which both those recited have been jumbled into the councils specified, neither can we allow them more credit than can be thought due to him that pleased to make that jumble; nor can we admit any other sense of the words of them, than the words of this canon enforce. Which sense, being of no more consequence, will not be worth the while further to dispute.

of the estern nons.]

§ 38. And it is to be observed that some Western canons have provided to the same purpose, that all the Churches of the same province be conformable in point of service. Conc. Venet." can. xv.: Rectum quoque duximus, ut vel intra provinciam nostram sacrorum ordo et psallendi una sit consuetudo. "We have also thought it right, that in sacred offices, and the order of singing, the same custom hold through our pro-Conc. Epaon. can. xxvii.x: Ad celebranda divina officia, ordinem, quem metropolitani tenent, provinciales eorum observare debebunt. "For celebrating divine offices, those of provinces shall be bound to observe the order which the metropolitans hold." To the same purpose Conc. Gerund. can. i.y By which appeareth the point aimed at in all these 246 canons, to make the whole province conformable in Divine Service. Which was without doubt the intent of that of Laodicea, expounded by Zonaras, by that hundred-and-third of the African canons, Τοῦτο οὖν ἔοικε καὶ ὁ παρών κανών διατάττεσθαι. "The same thing," saith he, "doth this present canon also seem to ordain."

§ 39. Thus it is easy to perceive that this canon of Lao-

¹ Zonar. Comment, in Canon. SS. Apost. et Concil. in Concil. Laodic. Can. xviii. p. 345. Paris. 1618. Et apud Beveregii Synodik, tom. i. p. 461. Oxon. 1672.

A.D. 465. Labbei, tom. v. col. 82. ed. Venet.

^{*} A.D. 517. Labbei, tom. v. col. 715. ed. Venet.

y A.D. 517. Labbei, tom. v. coll. 701—2.

dicea—providing that the order of prayer be always the same— CHAP. intended not to appoint the same minister always to use the same order of prayers, as is imagined, but that there should be one form unalterable, with respect to the diocese of Asia, for which it was originally made: as that of Carthage for the diocese of Africa, and others for their several provinces. And because they allow by this canon every man to compose his own service, so it be always the same, let them take notice how this agreeth with Zonaras, Τοῦτο οὖν ἔοικε, &c. "Therefore," saith he, "this canon seemeth to order the same, that whosoever would shall not compose prayers and say them at assemblies."

§ 40. And now judge whether he, or these new masters, [Meaning is best at expounding the canons. Only observe that this canons eighteenth canon of Laodicea concerneth not the service of cited.] those assemblies at which the Eucharist was celebrated, of which alone that hundred-and-third African canon proceedeth: the title whereof is, De precibus ad altare dicendis, "Of Prayers 247 to be said at the Altar." Whereupon it might perhaps be conceived, that the said pretended Milevitan canon, where it ordereth the prayers of the Eucharist, requireth them to be allowed by the synod; where it requireth them either to be allowed by the synod, or else treated by the more discreet, speaketh of other services, such as that canon of Laodicea concerneth: but being of no more credit, it deserveth not to be sifted so near. Add to all this the tradition in the lives of the popesb-what this or that pope added to the prayers that the Eucharist was celebrated with-which there is no reason to discredit for the whole, and it will appear both that there was a set form from the beginning, and that it was subject to continual alterations, the true reason why the primitive forms cannot now be exhibited.

§ 41. I am not so credulous as to entitle the liturgies of the liturgies

" "And first it ordained that none a "And first it ordained that none should pray pro arbitrio sed semper endem preces, that none should use liberty to vary in prayer, but use always the same form. Concil. Laodic. can. xviii. Yet this was a form of his own composing, as appears by another canon, wherein it was ordered thus; None should use any form unless he had first conferred cum fratribus

instructioribus, with the more learned of his brethren. Conc. Carth. iii, can.

xxiii."—Smectymnuus, sect. ii. p. 7.

^b As for instance, Sixtus I. added the hymn Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Do-minus Deus Sabaoth; Telesphorus the Angelical hymn Gloria in Excelsis; Celestinus the Psalms.—See the second book of Cardinal Bona's Rerum Litur-

ascribed Apostles.

CHAP. fathered upon St. James, St. Mark, St. Peter, no, nor St. Basil, or St. Chrysostom, as now we have them, to the persons whose names they wear. But I am confident they are the services frequented in the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, and the parts of the East that followed St. Basil in celebrating the Eucharist, from the time that they were put in this frame, and that to this frame they are reduced, through those changes which several ages have 248 brought to pass, from a prescript form at the beginning, though not this. For example, that which is called St. Peter's is word for word the canon of the Roman missal, with some parts of the Eastern liturgies, which I find not yet to have been frequented in the Western. From hence we have ground enough to imagine, why it hath been called St. Peter's. That of St. James we may discern to be the service of the Church of Jerusalem, by the particulars of it related in the catecheses attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. v.d That of St. Mark may be discerned for the service of the Church of Alexandria, by the great agreement it carrieth with that of St. Cyril sometime patriarch, and with the Ethiopic received from thence, as from their mother Church, both in Bibliotheca Patrume.

Altera-tions in liturgies.

§ 42. But as for the alterations to which it is to be believed these liturgies have been subject from time to time, we have this confession of Victorius Scialach, the Maronite at Rome, in his preface to Velserus of Augsburg, before the three liturgies, which, at the request of his friends, he turned for him out of the Arabic copy sent him by Scaliger. Nam ut Latini ipsi et Græci pontifices, multa deinceps in suis liturgiis, quas

"What censure the learned critics, both protestants and papists, have passed upon these liturgies, we hope the Remonstrant knows; we only mind him of what the learned Rivetus speaks of the liturgies of James, Peter, Matthew, Mark, 'Has omnes profectas esse ab inimico homine qui bonæ sementi Domini nocte superseminavit zizania, solidis rationibus probavit nobilis et illustris Philip. Mornæus, lib. i. de Missa et partibus ejus;' which, because the Remonstrant so often finds fault with our mis-Englishing, we leave to him to see if he can construe these

zizania to be any other than these liturgies, and this inimicus home to be any other than the devil."-Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, sect. ii. p. 28.

^d S. Cyril. Hierosol. Cateches. Mystagogica. v. p. 325. ed. Ben. Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum,

tom. vi. ed. Paris. 1589.

f Liturgiæ S. Basilii Magni, S. Gre-

gorii Theologi, S. Cyrilli Alexandrini. ex Arabico cor lach, Ac-

jam indè ab Apostolis acceperant, pro re nata, vel addiderunt, CHAP. vel immutarunt : ita etiam ab Alexandrinis et Ægyptiis, par est 249 credere, pro temporum opportunitate factitatum. "For as the Latin and Greek prelates either added or changed, upon occasion, divers things afterwards, in the liturgies which they received even from the Apostles: so is it meet to think was done, according to the occasion of times, by those of Alexandria and Egypt." Of the alterations made in the Roman service by the popes Gelasius and Gregory the Great g, beside others, the remembrance is quick and fresh in divers writers. The like it is reasonable to conceive of other active prelates. This he very pertinently argueth afterwards from the copy which he translated, in which the liturgy called St. Basil's was couched at large. Of the two that remain, intitled to Gregory the Divine and St. Cyril, nothing was set down but the passages of difference from that of St. Basil h. Though being subject to such continual alterations, we cannot be bound to believe them, as they are, to have been composed by those persons whose names they bear. § 43. And this truth we must take notice to be of great advantage to the cause of that reformation which we professi. For presuming, as we do, that an alteration in matter

of religion hath come to pass, what better account can we

g The liturgy of Gelasius was superseded by that of St. Gregory. It was discovered by Thomasius, and published at Rome in 1680. That of St. Gregory—Liber Sacramentorum—is published with Menard's notes in the 3rd vol. of the Benedictine edition of St. Gregory's works. St. Gregory's of St. Gregory's works. St. Gregory's alteration is remarkable: viz., the insertion in the canon of the words Dies-

gue nostras in pace tua disponas, &c.

—Bona Rer, Liturgic, lib. ii. cap. 12.
§ 4. p. 564. Antverp. 1672.

h Nam vel ex hoc ipso codice apparet, in secunda liturgia, quæ S. Gregorio, et in tertia quæ S. Cyrillo tribuitur, ca duntaxat esse descripta, quæ essent primæ Basilii liturgiæ ab his duobus adjuncta; quum reliqua ex ejusdem Basilii liturgia significentur esse repetenda; ut non tam triplex

quotes the following from Abulbircat: "Statutum est in Ecclesia Coptica tres liturgias usurpari. Una est quæ per omnes jejunii dies, et alios extra jejunium usurpatur, scilicet liturgia S. Ba-silii Episcopi Cæsarææ Cappadociæ. Secunda, quam Ægyptii consueverunt usurpari tantum per quadragesimale je-junium, et mensem Cohiac, est liturgia Marci quam perfecit Cyrillus. Tertia propria est diebus festorum divinorum, et lætitiæ, quæ est liturgia S. Gregorii." i "But these many years past, this godly and decent order of the ancient

Fathers, hath been so altered, broken, and neglected Whereas St. Paul would have such language spoken to the people in the Church as they might understand . . . The service in this Church of England these many years hath been read in Latin . . . These in-conveniences therefore considered, here is set forth such an order whereby the same shall be redressed."—Book of Common Prayer, Concerning the Service of the Church.

CHAP. give how it should be effected,—what more reasonable way can we assign, of conveying it into the minds of the people, than 25 by insensible alterations in the form of public service? which so long as we know in general to have been done, there is just cause otherwise to presume that it hath been to that purpose which we oppose. And if the traces hereof were well hunted in particular, perhaps it might be made to appear to common sense in the main particulars which we profess to reform.

recoverable.]

§ 44. So when demand is made to exhibit the copies of primitive liturgiesk, the case is much as it was of old at Athens, in the dispute about Theseus's ship in Plutarch, whether this which had been so changed that no man could tell what part of it remained, were the same or not1. Suppose we leave the problem to those keen wits of Greece that started it, I suppose it could not be questioned on any side that there had been once such a ship of Theseus. In our case I shall hope to produce some ribs or limbs of the service practised and prescribed by the Apostle for the substance of it. And therefore, though I presume not with that Maronite, that the Apostles themselves prescribed the form, and delivered to those which succeeded them, having shewed afore that for that time the parts of it were ministered by immediate inspiration of God's Spirit: yet this I will take upon me to conclude out of the premises, that as it had been in the synagogue afore, so in the Church afterwards, when those in-251 spirations were ceased they betook themselves on all hands to prescript forms^m, which, at the first derived from the primitive practice, retained that agreement in several places which in the substance of them still appeareth, and being propagated from the greatest Churches at the first, have at length all yielded in a manner to the principal. By Balsamon in can. xxxii. Sex. Syn. and his answer to Marko, patriarch of

pects the latter part of the Commentary to be none of the Scholia of Balsamon, but "marginalem primo fuisse annotationem."—Synodik. tom. ii. p. 134. Annot, in Can. Con. Trull.

h "We desire and expect that those forms which, he saith, are yet extant and ready to be produced might once appear."—Smectymnuus, p. 6.

Plutarch. Opp. tom. i. in vita Thesei. p. 10. Paris. 1624.

**See note k. chan. v. sect. 36

See, p. 10, Paris, 1024.
 See note k, chap. v. sect, 36,
 Theodor. Balsam. Supplem. p.
 1115. Et apud Beveregii, Synodik, tom.
 i. p. 193. The Bishop in his notes sus-

O Theod, Balsam, Responsa, Re Ap. Juris Græco-Romani, Leunc et Freheri. p. 362. Francofurti. cited partly by Bishop Beveride supra, p. 133.

Alexandria, it appeareth how desirous the service of St. Chrysostom, that is, of Constantinople, was to put down these of Jerusalem and Alexandria. And it is well enough known how the Roman mass, which was once the Gregorian service, hath abolished the Spanish, Gaulish, and German orders, and confined that which is intitled to St. Ambrose to his own Church of Milan.

§ 45. That this perpetual practice of the Church of pre-Agreescript forms of service is not against the principles of the reformed reformation, or the judgment of chief reformers, a few words Churches. shall serve to conclude. In particular in this of England, for which I plead; that the principal of the clergy should be employed to advise the whole kingdom assembled to enact a form of service, to the purpose that those which could make 252 no prayers of their own head might use it as cork to help them to swim with-not for any of these considerations expressed afore, especially the practice of it once enacted having been without interruption ever since—is a thing so far from common reason to conceive that it is hard to believe that those which speak it believe themselves in itq. In Luther's reformation the question is not made, though there is no reason to be shewed why their example should not be drawn into consequence here". As for the other, according to Cal-

F The Mozarabic liturgy was superseded in Spain in the time of Gregory VII. See Pinius' Liturgia Mozarabica, cap. vi. § 4. p. 47. Romæ. 1740. It was revived in the Church of Toledo by Cardinal Ximenes. ib. cap. vii. § 4. p. 60. The Gallican liturgy was superseded in the time of Pepin and Charleseded in the time of Pepin and Charlesed in the time of Pepin and Charleseded in the time of Pepin and Charleseded in the time of Pepin and Charleseded in the time of Carthage, &c."—Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance,

seded in the time of Pepin and Charlemagne.—Mabillon. de Liturgia Gallicana, lib. i. cap. 3. p. 18. Paris. 1729.

^a "Our second query is not so weak this, whether the first reformers of religion did ever intend the use of a liturgy, further than to be a help in the want, and to the weakness of the ministers? In [the] way of answer he asketh, whether we can think that our reformers had any other intentions than all other the founders of liturgies. No, indeed, we think, no other. And howsoever the Remonstrant, according to his confidence, tells us that the least part of their care was the help of the minister's weakness, yet their words tell us

sect, ii. p. 39.

The Presbyterians did not regard the Lutheran system with any great favour, e. g. "As for the Lutheran Churches, though we bless God for that truth that is in them for that glorious instrument of their reformation, yet we think the Remonstrant will not say that the Lutheran Churches came out so perfectly in the first edition, but that desiderantur nomnila; nor can be be ignorant that in the ordinary phrase of writing they are called the Protestant Churches, the other the

what if f

CHAP. vin*, so far as my lot hath been to know the practice of it, I confess it is a thing which hath made me much marvel to see them so punctual in practising their form prescribed, that scarce any thing came from the ministers themselves but that very short prayer afore the sermon, wherein they recommend themselves and their performance to the blessing of God, as you saw the fashion was in the ancient Churcht. Because it is found that the opinions which this Church hath been disquieted with were taken up upon unreasonable affectation to be conformable with them, those that pretend their example are bound to shew us among them the principle whereupon this point is condemned, that a prescript form is that which the Apostle forbiddeth in "quenching the Spirit."

> § 46. Therefore it will not be enough to say that divers Churches of that reformation used to neglect the order ap-253 pointed them, and use the voluntary conceptions of their ministers in public prayers"; for that might be thought of all of us, and for the reasons premised must be thought an example of ill consequence, and not for this Church to imitate. But it is requisite to allege the same reason from their doctors, and to shew that they disallow set prayers, as "quenching the Spirit." To which purpose I have not yet heard any thing produced either from the Fathers of the Church or from the reformed doctors. And therefore till that be done I am bold to send home that principle to them that have most right to own it, that is, to those of the separation from

ful? Yet is this handful in respect of purity, of truth, and worship among them, to be preferred before all the Christian world besides."—Vindication, &c. sect. ii. pp. 42, 43.

· See Precum ecclesiasticarum formula in the 7th vol. of Calvin's works, Geneva, 1617. The directions for its use begin thus:—Diebus quidem profestis minister populum ad precandum quibus ei visum fuerit verbis adhortatur. On Sunday morning a form is required to be used. After the singing of a Psalm, Minister revertitur ad preces, quibus a Domino gratiam sancti sui Spiritus petit, precationis autem formulam ad id aptam minister sibi pro arbitrio deligit. After the sermon there follows a long prayer, and then the Apostles' Creed. See "The Form of Common Prayer used by the English at Geneva," printed in the Phœnix, vol. ii. p. 204. See sect. 31.

" " All other reformed Churches, though they use liturgies, yet do not bind their ministers to the use of them."—Smeetymnuus, sect. ii. quer. 2. p. 13. "But it may be objected that the reformed Protestant Churches beyond the seas have their set form public prayer and sacraments. It is true, but I take it that the ministers are not tied to those forms, further than they will themselves. As we as the ministers of the Kirk of Scotlan now in England use no set forms of prayer, but do discharge the duty of prayer with an excellent freedom of spirit."—Christ on His Throne, case vii. pp. 33, 34. A.D. 1640. this Church of England, or rather to those German sectaries CHAP. that dreamed of enthusiasms and immediate inspirations.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF TIMES OF ASSEMBLIES. DAILY MORNING AND EVENING SERVICE IS FOR THE EDIFICATION OF THE CHURCH. HUMAN INSTITUTION OF TESTIVALS LAWPUL. PUBLIC SERVICE UPON THEM, AND UPON WEEKLY AND YEARLY TIMES OF FASTING, IS FOR INCREASE OF GODLINESS. OF FREQUENT CELEBRATION OF THE EUCHARIST. HOURS OF PRAYER AMONG THE APOSTLES AND PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS FROM THE SYNAGOGUE. FESTI-254 VALS OF THE LAW FOR GLADNESS, AND THOSE OF HUMAN INSTITUTION IN THE SYNAGOGUE. OF FASTING-DAYS IN THE SYNAGOGUE AND PRIMI-TIVE CHURCH. HOW THE EUCHARIST WAS FREQUENTED IN THE PRIMI-TIVE CHURCH. THE ORDER OF THIS CHURCH AGREEABLE WITH THE JUDGMENT OF CHIEF REFORMERS.

THE next point, concerning in general the order of public of times service, is the difference of times, and days, and hours, in blies, respect of frequenting our assemblies for the purpose of it: Daily morning and first, the order of daily morning and evening service, and evenhow much it concerneth the edification of the Church, that is, is for the the training of it in the exercise of godliness. A point other-edification wise to be pleaded than the rest. For in other matters we Church. have reason, or at least the shadow of reason, to deal with: in this, it is not for Christians to allege that it is not for the honour and glory of God to be served in public, or that it is not for the benefit of His people to join together in addressing their petitions in procuring their daily wants at His hands x. Nevertheless, as if these considerations were to give way to the occasions of the world, those that deny them not to be valuable are content to let them, and the order of daily service grounded upon them, be ineffectual and to no purpose. This is not the place to dispute how much the consideration 255 of God's service is to outweigh the world and the occasions of it. Only because it may be said how many idle bellies are maintained in the Church of Rome, to patter over their mat-

* Non obligatur nec obligari debet populus interesse ordinariæ recitationi lec-tionum in matutino et vespertino officio per hebdomadam. Ordinaria igitur lectio reservanda est publicis conventibus, vel saltem suum legendi ordinem et perlegendi habere debent, si propter populum hic ordo institutus. Ideo Ju-dæi singulis Sabbatis legebant.—Di-doclavii (Calderwood) Altare Damascenum, p. 633. Anno 1623.

CHAP. ins and even-songs, in a manner not regarded by themselves, and a language not understood by the people: let it be considered what greater advantage the devil could wish to make of this abuse among them, than upon occasion of it to bring the service of God into disuse among us; or how he could have improved this scandal to more purpose for the hindering of goodness, than rooting out the substance of God's service. rather than reforming the abuses of the manner of ity.

Human

§ 2. In the next place, the difference of festival and fastof festivals ing-days from the ordinary, in respect to the service of God upon them, is an order much concerning the edification of the Church in the exercise of godliness. Here indeed some pretence of reason bath been made to shew that it is not in the power of the Church to appoint festival-days, as a thing contrary to the tenor of the law, which saith, "Six days thou shalt labour and do all that thou hast to do"." I know not whether men by this time be ware of the mistakes which this reason involveth, because it maketh not so much noise in these days: but without doubt, it was always a gross inconsequence to imagine an office of the second table—of labouring 256 in ordinary work-to be commanded by a law of the first table: but without doubt, it was always a gross inconvenience to imagine God to give a command here which we must sup-

> " Because the worshipping of God by read prayer is a part of the worship of Antichrist, used and enjoined in the papacy, maintaining superstition and a dumb and idol ministry, nourishing the people in ignorance of the nature and right use of prayer."—Apology of Brownists, p. 67. A.D. 1604. "First I say, that if it were praying, and that there were never an ill word nor sentence in all the prayers, yet to appoint it to be used, or so to use it as Papists did their matins and even-song, for a set service to God, though the words be good, the use is naught."-Second Admon. to the Parliament, p. 55. reprinted A.D. 1617.

" Seeing therefore that the Lord hath left it to all men at liberty that they might labour, if they think good, six days; I say the Church nor no man can take this liberty away from them, and drive them to a necessary rest of And if it be lawful to abridge the liberty of the Church in

this point, and instead that the Lord saith Six days thou mayest labour if thou wilt, to say, Thou shalt not labour six days, I do not see why the Church may not as well,-whereas the Lord saith, Thou shalt rest the seventh day, -command that thou shalt not rest the seventh day. For if the Church may restrain the liberty that God hath given them, it may take away the yoke also that God hath put upon them."—Cartwright's Reply to Whitgift, p. 152.
Primum argumentum contra observationem festorum petitur e verbis quarti præcepti in Decalogo, sez diebus opera-Hæc verba continent vel præceptum vel permissionem. Si præceptum operandi sex diebus, ergo nullus potest cessationem ab omni opere imperare: si per missionem, ergo, nullus potest hanc libertatem populo cripere, et simpliciter cessationem ab omni op imperare vel etiam ob cultum divina -Didoclavii Altare Damascenum,

670, 671.

pose Him to cross afterwards in the law of Moses, when He CHAP. cometh to appoint new moons and other solemnities to be observed on these six days a. Therefore when the commandment saith, "Six days thou shalt labour," the meaning is, "Six days thou mayest labour:" thou art licensed and not forbidden to do thy daily work on them, by this commandment. So it is translated in our last English, Exod. xxxi. 15, "Six days may work be done:" and in the Hebrew the same word standeth for both senses.

§ 3. Last of all, whereas it is known that there were in the Publicser-Jews' calendar, at the time when our Lord Christ lived upon them. earth, divers solemnities besides those that were appointed by the law of Moses, of which something must be said afterwards; and we know by the Gospel that our Lord Himself kept the Feast of the Dedication instituted by Judas Maccabeusb; by that particular we are assured, both that He observed the rest, and that by observing He allowed and commended the institution in general for the purpose whereof we speak. For the blessings of God, whereof these solemnities 257 renew the remembrance, are of that esteem to the Church, that we are not able to express too much thankfulness in taking that occasion of solemnizing His service. And the greatest part of Christians are such as will receive much improvement in the principal mysteries of our faith, by the sensible instruction which the observation of such solemnities yieldethe. The remembrance of the birth, the sufferings, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, the coming of the Holy Ghost, the conversion of the Gentiles by sending the Apostles, the way made before His coming by the annunciation of

a "And whereas you say the Jews had certain other feasts which they observed; indeed the Lord which gave this general law might make as many exceptions as He thought good. But it followeth not because the Lord did it that therefore the Church may do it, &c."—Cartwright's Reply to Whit-

gift, p. 152.

b I Maccab. iv. 59; St. John x. 22.

c "And as for all the commodities which we receive by them—whereby Mr. Doctor goeth about to prove the goodness and lawfulness of their institution—as that the Scriptures are there read and expounded, the patience of those Saints in their persecution and martyrdom is, to the edifying of the Church, remembered and yearly renewed; I say that we might have all those commodities without all those dangers which I have spoken of, and without any keeping of yearly memory of those Saints, and, as it falleth out, or those Saints, and, as it faileth out, in better and more profitable sort."—Cartwright's Reply to Whitgift, p. 153. "The holy days follow.... If they were so indifferent as they are made, yet being kept of the Papists, which are the enemies of God, they ought to be abolished."—Ib., p. 151. CHAP. the Angel, and the coming of the Baptist, as it is a powerful mean to train the more ignorant sort in the understanding of such great mysteries, so it is a just occasion for all sorts to make that a particular time of serving God upon which we solemnize those great works of His. For the purpose is not to hinder the occasions of the world by setting aside men's ordinary work, but to prefer the service of God before it^d

[Of their abuse.]

§ 4. If the public service of God be of better esteem than the business of this world, well may the Church own all the means by which she laboureth to procure the exercise of it: but if the business of this world, so far as it hindereth not the service of God, be good and commendable, she shall not need to own the restraint of it further than it tendeth to that purpose. Therefore provided, as it is among us, that the whole-258 some effect of this ordinance vanish not in the excessive multitude of festivals—ordinary occasions crowding out the remembrance of those that deserve it—it will not serve the turn to say that the Papists have made these solemnities the occasion of worshipping the Saints that own the days^e: to that must the same be answered as afore, that it is the use and improvement that the devil would choose to make of

⁴ "And if that it be thought so good and profitable a thing that this remembrance of them should be upon those days wherein they are supposed to have died, yet it followeth not therefore that after this remembrance is celebrated by hearing the Scriptures concerning them, and prayers made to follow their constancy, that all the rest of the day should be kept holy, in such sort as men should be debarred of their bodily labours, and of exercising their daily vocations."—Cartwright's Reply, p. 154.

p. 154.

"For although I confess as much as you say—that the Church of England doth not mean by this keeping of holy days that the Saints should be honoured, or as you allege... that with us the Saints are not prayed unto, or that it doth propound them as meritorious, yet that is not enough... For besides that the corrupt custom of popery hath carried their minds to another interpretation: the very name and appellation of the day teacheth otherwise. For seeing that the days dedicated to

the Trinity, and those that are consecrate to our Saviour Christ are, in that they be called Trinity day, or the Nativity day of our Saviour Christ, by and by taken to be instituted to the honour of our Saviour Christ and of the Trinity; so likewise the people, when it is called St. Paul's day, or the blessed Virgin Mary's day, can understand nothing thereby but that they are instituted to the honour of St. Paul or of the Virgin Mary, unless they be otherwise taught."—Cartwright's Reply, p. 153. Calderwood speaks more positively thus: Nam si dies ipse sit in honorem eorum sacratus et liturgia . canetur, coluntur ipsi sancti cultu religioso at dices non in cultum sed in memoriam martyrum dies istos observare. Deum autem colere in sanctis aut propter sanctos. Non possunt ista duo, celebrare diem in memoriam, et celebrare in cultum, separari honor sanctorum celebris et cum solemnitate diei festi qui Deo soli debetur, est cultus religiosus. - Altare Damascen. p. 645. A.D. 1623.

such scandals, to prevent the abuse of God's service, by root- CHAP. ing out the exercise of it.

§ 5. As for particular solemnities of fasting, by the week, And upon or by the year, we are to consider that abstinence is not only and yearly the cure of that sensuality which surfeit breedeth, but the times of fasting is most powerful means to represent unto a man the whole con- for in dition of his soul towards God. Would a man desire to hum- godliness. ble himself in the consideration of his offences? Let common sense be judge whether he shall do it full or fasting to better purpose. Wherefore, being subject to run into offence from time to time, what more wholesome ordinance can the Church have than to assemble from week to week to humble ourselves in the presence of God, and to labour to divert His due wrath, that it light not upon us in general or in particular? And being subject nevertheless to heap wrath against our-259 selves, by slighting our continual humiliation and repentance, what more solemn ordinance could reason devise than fasting before festivals-than, before the most solemn yearly festival, the most solemn yearly fast; by humiliation going before, to estate us in the right of those blessings which then we celebrate ??

§ 6. Our Lord in the Gospel hath said of His disciples, [Puritan "When the bridegroom shall be taken from among them, to first then shall they fast in those days." Should Christians never days.] fast but when public calamities, or extraordinary occasions of the commonwealth call for its, well may it be asked, Where

f "The Book of Common Prayer containeth in it sundry things that are contrary to the word of God. It appointeth Saints' eves to be kept as fasting days, and commandeth the mi-nister to bid them so. It appointeth the time of Lent to be kept as a reli-gious fast, and perverteth both the example of Christ's fast, and sundry other places of Scripture to the justify-ing thereof."—The Abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 6. re-printed A.D. 1641. "In this book days are ascribed unto Saints and kept holy with fasts on their eves, and prescript service appointed for them, which be-side that they are of many supersti-tiously kept and observed, are also contrary to the commandment of God, 'Six days shalt thou labour,' and therefore we, for the superstition that

is put in them, dare not subscribe to allow them."—An Admonition to the Parliament, p. 11. A.D. 1617. 8 Non tamen debent publica jeju-

nia aut privata esse stata et ordinaria. Populo suo Deus unicum tantum jejunii diem statum imperavit, qui festo expiationis adjungebatur, quod typi-cum erat et legale. Nam publica quæ usurpantur ob calamitatem, vel quæ ob alia graviora Ecclesiæ negotia indicuntur jejunia, iis peractis et cessante causa, cessare debent. Nam absque causa impellente calamitatis aut necessitatis boni alicujus sensu ludicra et frigida erunt jejunia. Sic etiam privatis jejunii stata tempora præscribere, ac si tentationis horas et dies dignoscere possent periti isti animarum medici, æque ridiculum est.—Altare Damascenum, p. 715.

CHAP. is the effect of these words? I speak not now of any difference of meats for conscience sake, in that abstinence is not seen in the consideration now in hand: but I speak of the service of God upon these occasions, which being appointed for humbling of our souls in consideration of our offences, common sense will not refuse that abstinence is necessary for the purpose. If it be said in this point as afore, that the Papists have abused this ordinance to a sacrilegious opinion of satisfaction and merit, and the worship of Godh-having declared a just and true reason and ground of the ordinance, according to which it is no worship of God, but the opportunity and means of His due and requisite service-the answer must be as afore, that it is the advantage which the devil 260 would wish to make of such abuses, to make them the pretence to root out the service of God, and so to save the pains of reforming it.

Of fre-

§ 7. The last consideration which I refer to this head conquent cele-bration of cerneth the frequent celebration and communion of the the Eucharist, which is indeed the crown of public service, and the most solemn and chief work of Christian assemblies. And though for the particular time of communicating, it is rather commended than enjoined, yet the remembrance it importeth is so proper-so particular to the profession we make—that our assemblies are never so like the assemblies of Christians as when it is celebrated. And though it is not in men so to command the occasions of the world as to be always disposed to communicate, yet that in the general of the Church there should not always be persons disposed to communicate—that it should not be celebrated for those which are disposed to communicate—is an inconvenience for which nothing but too much love of the world-too much back-

> h "Lent fast, they say, was ordained by Pope Telesphorus, in the year 136, and they keep it in England for the same end that the Papists do. Justly therefore is it named a Romish error, a superstitious fast. For their other fasts, they are said to be monuments of idolatry, devised of Antichrist, in all the rights and orders of them superstitious, and directly against God's commandments."-Canne's Necess. of Separation, chap. ii. sect. 4. p. 106. A.D. 1634. "Because he dare not

answer, and cannot approve his Embers, Saints' Eves and Lent Fasts by Scripture, he seeketh to turn away, and to cavil about other doctrines, as the putting holiness, merit, &c. in the abstinence and the restraint of meats, wherewith he was not charged by us, yet whereof haply—if he were narrowly sought and followed—he could not so well clear his Church as he supposeth." A Plain Refutation of M. Giffard's book, p. 30, A.D. 1591.

wardness from spiritual duties-can be alleged. For if it be CHAP. said that the Church of Rome, by retaining the custom of celebrating day by day, hath turned the communion into a sacrifice for the quick and dead, the answer must be as afore, 261 that it is the use which the enemy of mankind would choose to make of their abuses, to persuade men that, so long as private masses are abolished, they are at freedom to be secure of the frequent celebration and communion of the Eucharist.

§ 8. If any man think that under this which hath been [Not insaid, there is an intent to shoulder out preaching by com-with mending other causes of religious assemblies, he shall both preaching.] wrong my meaning, and mistake the truth of the cause k. He that will have men to preach more than they learn, and to void those crudities in the Church which were never digested in their studies, perhaps may have reason to think that where the stuff is light there the larger measure is due: but besides the scandals such raw doctrine must needs breed, he shall be sure to bring a slight esteem upon that profession wherein God is served no otherwise. But he that will provide abilities of men for so great a work, shall find that these assemblies, on festival and fasting-days, the occasions whereof are here commended, shall minister opportunities of continual preaching, even beyond those of hearing, always for the edification of the Church, where men are able to support the respect and esteem of so great a work.

§ 9. It is now time to put together the primitive practice Hours of of the Church in the particulars here touched, deriving it as prayer the 262 near as can be from the time of the Apostles. It is thus writ-Apostles and primiten of the first disciples, Acts ii. 42; "And they continued tive Christian of the first disciples, Acts ii. 42; "And they continued tive Christian of the first disciples, Acts ii. 42; "And they continued tive Christian of the first disciples, Acts ii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts ii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples, Acts iii. 42; "And they continued the first disciples t steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine, and communion, and in from the breaking bread, and prayers." And ver. 46; "And day by synagogue. day continuing with one mind in the temple, and breaking

"Four times in the year we think sufficient to the administration of the Lord's table, which we desire to be distincted that the superstition of times may be avoided so far as may be; for your honours are not ignorant how superstitiously the people run to that action at Pasche, even as if the time gave virtue to the Sacrament, and how the rest of the whole year they are careless and negligent, as if it appertained not unto them but at that time only."-The Doctrine and Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, book i. p. 63.

A.D. 1641.

k The liturgy "is so much idolized, as that it is accounted the only worship of God in England, and is now made the upholder of a non-preaching ministry," &c.—Smeetym-nuus, sect. ii. p. 12.

CHAP. bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart." Again, iii. 1; "Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour:" that is, three after noon. The synagogues were instituted for the moral and perpetual service of God, by prayer, and praising Him, and expounding His word, leaving the figurative worship of sacrifices to the temple: upon which nevertheless the circumstances of that moral service depended, as hath been observed out of R. Moses Maimoni, Tephillah Ubircath Cohenim, cap. i. num. 7, and must be repeated here. Thus he delivereth; that correspondent to the daily sacrifice morning and evening, there was ordered among them and practised one service for the morning, another for the evening : that therefore called שחרית, this ערבית. And on solemn days, when there was a sacrifice more than ordinary offered by the law, a third called non, that is, over and above. Further, num. 8: that as the limbs of the evening sacrifice were burning all night upon the Altar, so, in correspondence, there was ordered a prayer at night, which, 263 though not obligatory, he saith was practised by all Israel.

[Hours of prayer observed by the

§ 10. Of the service appointed for fasting-days, at closing in the evening, called therefore by them געילה, I need say nothing here. Cap. iii. num. 2, he declareth, that because when the eve of the passover fell upon the Friday, the evening sacrifice was killed half an hour after noon; therefore the time from which the evening sacrifice became due was from thence to half an hour after three; which was called מנחה נדולה, the great evening service, the less being from thence to sunset. So that he who prayeth this service from half an hour after twelve is disobliged of the debt of it: and upon what terms it is said, either at both these hours or at the one, according to their orders, it followeth there, num. 3. Of these three services, the Hebrew doctors-Maimoni as afore, Abenezra upon Psalm lv. 17, R. Saadiah upon Dan. vi. 10constantly expound the words of the Psalmist there; "Evening, and morning, and at noon will I pray, and cry aloud, and He shall hear my voice." And that of Daniel, "He kneeled upon his knees three times a-day, and prayed, and gave thanks before God, as aforetime."

[By the Apostles.1 § 11. Whence it should seem that when St. Peter went ur

to pray upon the house-top about the sixth hour, Acts x. 9, CHAP. 264 his meaning was to observe the lawful hour of the evening service half an hour after noon: though, being at Jerusalem, he went up into the temple with John at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour, when this service was performed there in the assembly of the people. The same which Judith observed, as we read Judith ix. 1; "About the time that the incense of that evening was offered in Jerusalem, in the house of the Lord, Judith cried with a loud voice and said." According to that of the Psalm, "Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," as you heard afore, that their prayers in the temple were offered at the time of incense1. Thus the order of the synagogue aimed at the sacrifices which by the law were offered in the temple. In the Church it was received of very ancient time to pray at nine, at twelve, and at three afternoon, aiming, it should seem, at the practice of the synagogue and of the Apostles according to it, but with the difference you see, that they prayed thrice in the day-time, whereas the Jews' third service was at going to bed, as you have it in Maimoni as afore.

§ 12. Tertullian, De Jejun. adv. Psychicos, cap. x.m, sheweth [By the that the hours of nine, and twelve, and three, were customed after for prayer by the Christians of that time, by proving it from them.] the example of the disciples assembled, as St. Peter saith, 265 Acts ii. 15, upon the third hour of the day; of St. Peter, that went up to pray at the sixth hour; and of Peter and John, that went up to the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour. And then it followeth, Quod etiam suadet Danielis quoque argumentum, ter die orantis, utique per aliquarum horarum exceptionem, non aliarum autem quam insigniorum exinde Apostolicarum, tertiæ, sextæ, nonæ. Hinc itaque et Petrum dicam ex vetere potius usu nonam observasse, tertio orantem supremæ orationis munere. "Which also Daniel's

1 Chap, vii. sect. 14.

plum sunt introgressi, cur non intelligamus salva plane indifferentia semper et ubique et omni tempore orandum : tamen tres istas horas ut insigniores in rebus humanis quæ diem distribuunt, quæ negotia distinguunt, quæ publice resonant, ita et solemniores fuisse in orationibus divinis.—Pp. 985, 986. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662.

m Stationes nostras, ut indignas, quasdam vero et in serum constitutas, novitatis nomine incusant....... Porro cum in eodem commentario Lucæ, et tertia hora orationis demonstretur, sub qua Spiritu Sancto initiati pro ebriis habebantur; et sexta qua Petrus ascendit in superiora; et nona qua tem-

CHAP, praying thrice a-day argueth, forsooth, excepting some hours, - and those no other than these of the Apostles, which thence were more notable, the third, sixth, and ninth. Hereupon I would say, that Peter rather observed the ninth by ancient custom, praying the third time, as the last offering." Here lieth the difference. It is the third prayer of the day, according to Tertullian, which Peter and John offered at the time of evening sacrifice, which these Hebrew doctors make but the second. Whatsoever become of this difference, as concerning the hours of men's private prayers, the public hours of the temple observed by the Apostles became a precedent to the Church for the public service of God at their assemblies.

> § 13. In the Constitutions of the Apostles, they are exhorted to pray the Lord's Prayer thrice a-day—according to Tertullian-vii. 24". They are again exhorted to pray at other 266 hours besides, viii. 34°. But as concerning their assemblies, thus he instructeth the Bishop to teach the people—just according to the practice of the synagogue, alleged out of Maimoni—ii. 59 p: Διδάσκων δε, δι επίσκοπε, κέλευε καλ παραίνει τῷ λαῷ, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐνδελεχίζειν, ὅρθρου καὶ ἐσπέρας έκάστης ήμέρας, καὶ μὴ ἀπολειπέσθαι τὸ σύνολον. "But in teaching, O Bishop, charge and instruct the people to be continually at Church, morning and evening every day, and not absent at all." Whereas upon Lord's days, in the same place q he remembereth three services, which seem to be those whereof the canon of Laodicear speaketh, where it appointeth the same service of prayers to be used, both at three and at evenings, meaning upon Lord's days, according to these Constitutions.

§ 14. It is not then this author's judgment, upon which I stand not, but it is the example of the Apostles, and primitive disciples, resorting to the temple to serve God with the Jews, in the service there practised, and that according to

[&]quot; Ουτω προσεύχεσθε. Πατερ ήμων κ. τ. λ. Τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύ-χεσθε.—Labbei, tom. i. col. 428.

[·] Εύχας επιτελείτε δρθρου και τρίτη

q 'Eν f και τρις εὐχας έστωτες ἐπιτελούμεν, μνήμης χάριν του διά τριών ἀναστάντος ήμερων εν ή προφητών ανά-γνωσις, καλ εὐαγγελίου κηρυκία, καλ θυσlas ἀναφορὰ καὶ τροφῆς lepâs δωρεά.—

Ib., col. 301.

See chap. vii. sect. 35.

the custom of the synagogue; but it is the custom of the CHAP. Church by him remembered, and derived from their example, that must needs recommend with great weight unto us the order of this Church, as concerning daily morning and evening service. And to the same purpose, in the Reforma-267 tion, Calvin upon Acts iii. 1: Instituerat Dominus ut sacrificium vesperi et mane Judæi offerrent. Hoc exercitio docebantur ab invocatione et cultu Dei incipere diem et claudere. "God hath appointed the Jews to offer sacrifice morning and evening. By this exercise they were taught to begin and close the day with calling upon God and His service." A little after: Primim, quod statas horas Deus veteri populo esse voluit, indè colligimus Ecclesiam non posse carere certa discipliná. Ac hodie, nisi obstaret nimius torpor, utile esset quotidie haberi tales conventus. "First, whereas God appointed His ancient people set hours, thence we gather that the Church cannot be without a certain discipline. And at this day, if too much dulness hindered not, it were useful every day to hold such assemblies."

§ 15. Of festivals appointed by the guides of the syna-Festivals gogue, not by the law of Moses, we have four, to my remem- of the law for brance, expressed in the Scriptures. The first is that of gladness Purim, Esther ix. 20—32. The second the festival of the law, of human institution upon Tisri xxiii.-observed still among the Jews for making in the sy an end of reading the law, which they begin to read over nagogue. again the next Sabbath-pointed at Nehem. viii. 9; ix. 1, as Scaliger, De Emend. Temp. vii., Not. in Comp. Jud. 5, hath excellently observed. It is first to be known that the festivals of the law were appointed to be solemnized with mirth and gladness of heart: wherefore they are called, 268 Num. x. 10, "The days of your gladness." And in the Psalm for the Sabbath, xcii. 4, "For Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through Thy works," saith he, "I will triumph in the works of Thy hands:" expressing the subject of that gladness, the remembrance of the creation, upon that day celebrated. Though the observance of rest upon the Sabbath was strict, yet when our Saviour went into the house of one

vestigia Nehemiæ ix. statim initio.—P. 648. Genev. 1629.

^{*} Celebratur autem 23 Tisri nona die Σκηνοπηγίαs, cujus cultus institutio vetustissima. Nam ejus clara extant

CHAP. of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the Sabbath, Luke xiv. 1, this invitation and entertainment is argument enough that it was festival, for the manner of observance. Hereupon it is, that the people falling to weep upon hearing the law read, the first day of the feast of tabernacles, Nehem. viii. 9, are forbidden to violate the law of the feast, and commanded to observe the day in the right nature of it. Whereas the people then, being forbidden to mourn on the festival, are said, ix. 1, to have fasted on the twenty-fourth of that month, we have cause to presume with him, that the fast-whereof they acknowledged the cause, upon the first day of that feast—was deferred till the usual solemnities of it were past; which by the law ending upon the twenty-second, and the fast not kept till the twenty-fourth, it is plain that the reason was the festival of the law falling then, and observed upon the twenty-third, as now, not by the law, but by the constitution of their elders.

[The feast of the woodoffering.]

§ 16. The third is the feast of the wood-offering, of which Nehem. x. 34: "And we cast lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people for the wood-offering, to bring it into the house of our God, after the houses of our fathers, at times appointed year by year, to burn upon the Altar of the Lord our God, as it is written in the law." And xiii. 31: "And for the wood-offering at times appointed." The same Scaliger conceiveth out of Josephust, that this festival fell upon the twenty-second of the month Ab, to which sense he referreth the words of Orach Hajim, Ab est rex, quod in eo cæderent ligna in sacrificium: "Ab is a king," among months, "because upon it they cut wood for the sacrifice"." But the truth is that which the Mischna relateth, Mass. Taanioth, cap. iv. mm. 5x, that it was held for nine days of several months, whereif a great part fell in that month. For this is that which the Scripture saith, "At times appointed year by year."

[The feast of the dedication.]

§ 17. The last is the dedication of the temple by Judas Maccabeus, which our Lord observed, John x. 22; neither is it within the compass of common sense to imagine that He did otherwise in the rest of the solemnities which were then

t De bello Judaico, lib. ii. cap. xvii.

[&]quot; Scaliger, ib., p. 649. * Surenhus., tom. ii. p. 381.

^{6.} p. 1092. ed. Hudson.

for certain in the Jews' calendar. As for their times of fast- CHAP. ing, the day of atonement stood by the law of Moses, and the rest appointed for it, as strict as that of the Sabbath; but 270 the nature of the observance quite otherwise, with humiliation and afflicting the soul.

§ 18. There were divers other fasts which that people took Of fasting upon them to observe-not upon the law, but upon public days in the synaorder and custom-upon set days of several months, as in gogue and their calendar is yet to be seen; whereof some are remem-Church. bered in the Scriptures. Zach. vii. 5, and viii. 19, we read of the fasts of the fourth, and fifth, and seventh, and tenth months, in remembrance of those calamities which God had punished the sins of that people with upon those days, most of them still remembered in their writings. Besides, that which is read in the law of Moses, Num. x. 9, "And if you go to war in your land with your enemies that distress you, then you shall blow an alarm with the trumpets," hath been from old time understood, in the practice of that people, of all distresses that came upon them for their sins, and of proclaiming fasts for strict repentance, and diverting God's wrath,

Maimoni, Taanioth, cap. i. num. 1.

§ 19. The order of which fasts was grounded upon that [The ordiwhich the words of the Pharisee point at, Luke xviii. 12, "I fast twice in the week." For without doubt the second and fifth day of the week, Mondays and Thursdays, were observed many ages afore that, for the purposes which the same Rabbi specifieth, Tephillah Ubircath Cohenim, cap. xii. 271 num. 1, כושה רבינו ונו, "Our lord Moses appointed Israel to read the law at morning prayer upon the Sabbath, and the second and the fifth, that they might not rest three days from hearing the law: and Ezra appointed to read it at evening prayer upon the Sabbath, because of idle persons. And he ordered that three men should read upon the second and fifth, and not less than ten verses." And in Megillah, cap. i. num. 6, כני הכפרים ונו, "those that dwell in villages, that assemble not in the synagogues but upon the second and the fifth." These are his words, by which it appeareth that these days were more solemn for assemblies than the rest of the week, seeing that in villages they assembled upon them in

CHAP. the synagogues, which upon every day they did not. The words of the Pharisee bear further, that they were observed with fasting: and, beside Epiphaniusy, their own writers have delivered no less. But the observance, without doubt, was not so strict upon them, else could not the Pharisee have alleged it for his own praise.

§ 20. And the order of proclaimed fasts, whereof I began nary fasts,] to speak, argueth no less. It was at the least for three days, beginning at the Monday, and so on the Thursday, and Monday next, Maimoni, Taanioth, cap. i. num. 5. But if seven days of fasting were appointed, then they went on interchangeably from the first Monday, cap. iii. num. 5. So the congregation fasted not on Sabbaths or festivals, neither 272 did they begin fasting on new moons, or the dedication, or Purim, or the working-day of a feast—that is, the days that come between the first and last of the Passover and tabernacles-but if they had begun afore, they went on upon these days, cap. i. num. 6, 7. If these days then had been fasted ordinarily with such strict observance, then could not the extraordinary fasts, which were purposely cast upon the same days, have been perceived.

[Jewish fasts precedents for Chris-

§ 21. The institution and observation of these solemnities in the synagogue-as it regarded no ceremonial service, which figured things to come, but the service of God by public prayers, and the praises of God with hearing His word upon the remembrance of His blessings, or of our misdeeds-was a true precedent for the Church to follow, according to the chief occasions ministered by the principles of our faith. The Resurrection of our Lord in the first Who can doubt that the proper day of it was solemnized from the beginning, acknowledging, as we do, that it was the ground of determining the day which we celebrate through the year, instead of the Jews' Sabbaths: and seeing the Apostles assembled the next Pentecost after it, Acts ii. 1? We know there was from the beginning a great deal of difference and debate about the time, those ancient Christians of Asia solemnizing it according to the 273 moon, by a custom pretended to come from St. John:-

y See sect. 26.

whereof we read in Policrates' epistle related in Eusebius, CHAP. Eccl. Hist. v. 24-the rest upon the first day of the week, upon which our Lord rose again. These that differed so much about the time, agreed always in observing the festival. So they did in observing the fast before it, that were at much difference as well about the number of days, as the measure of abstinence.

§ 22. Irenæus in his epistle to Victor of Rome, in Eusebius, [Ofthefast Eccl. Hist. v. 24 : Οὐ δὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ή άμφισβήτησις, άλλα και περί του είδους αυτού της νηστείας οί μεν γάρ οἴονται μίαν ἡμέραν δείν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οί δὲ καὶ πλείονας οί δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ώρας ήμερινας καὶ νυκτερινάς συμμετρούσι την ήμέραν αὐτῶν. "For the difference is not about the day alone, but about the very kind of fasting: for some think they are to fast one day, some two, some more; some measure their day forty hours of the day and night." The Passion-day was commonly kept of all with public fasting, as Tertullian acknowledgeth, De Oratione, cap. xiv. , that is, the one day whereof Irenæus speaketh. But besides, De Jejuniis, cap. ii., relating the opinion and practice of the Church, against which he writeth there for the discipline of Montanus, Certe in Evangelio illos dies jejunio determinatos putant in quibus ablatus est sponsus. "For certain they think," saith he, "those days to be appointed for fasting

274 in the Gospel, on which the bridegroom was taken away." That is, the Passion-day and the Saturday after it, according to Tertullian, De Jejuniis, cap. xiv, where the Sabbath or Saturday is qualified, Nunquam nisi in Pascha jejunandum: "Never but at Easter to be fasted." And the appointment of the Gospel, whereof he speaketh, is that, Mark ii. 20, "The days shall come in which the bridegroom shall be taken from you, and then shall ye fast in those days:" or, on those days, as then it seemeth they understood it.

§ 23. But in that which remaineth of Irenæus' words, there [Difficulis—and seemeth to have been for divers hundred years—a fies in the slight difference of reading in the copies of Eusebius, which of it.] inferreth a main difference in the sense: that reading which

P. 183. See Pamelius' note, wherein he shews that Pascha is Good-Friday.

Sic et die Paschæ quo communis et quasi publica jejunii religio est.-

CHAP. Christophorson translated in Latin, acknowledged of late by Petitus, Var. Lect. iii. 4b-though it is unknown to me from what copies—hath them thus: Οί μεν γάρ οἴονται μίαν ἡμέραν δείν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ώρας τε ήμερινάς καὶ νυκτερινάς συμμετρούσι τὴν ήμέραν αὐτῶν. That is, "For some think they are to fast one day, some two, some more, some forty: and they measure their day by the hours of the day and night." Meaning that when they fast, they fast from evening to evening. Which is more, Ruffinuse read it no otherwise: for thus he translateth those last words: Nonnulli etiam quadraginta: ità ut horas diurnas nocturnásque computantes, diem statuant. Meaning, that some 275 fasted forty days, but that those which fasted forty days computed every day four-and-twenty hours of the day and night. By this reading, those some, of whom Irenæus speaketh, kept Lent forty days, even afore his time: though as Petitus fairly conjectureth, not upon all, but upon some days of each week, as it hath been shewed that the Jews kept their long fasts but on Mondays and Thursdaysd; and as he duly proveth, that in St. Augustine's and Leo the Great's time they fasted the Lent at Rome but three days in a weeke.

[How long it lasted.]

§ 24. The other reading related afore, is from Robert Stevens' Greek, which Nicephorus followeth, for so he is translated in Latin : Nonnulli autem quadraginta horis diurnis et nocturnis diem metiunturg: to say, "that some measured that one day which they fasted, by forty hours of the day and night." To make good which reading, Beatus Rhenanush in his preface to Ruffinus, complaining of the want

Hist. Ruffino interprete, lib. v. 24. p. 124. Basil. 1528.

nempe feriam quartam et sextam, item-que Sabbatum.—Petit, p. 92. Quesnell, Dissertat. vi. § 19. de jejunio Sabbati, considers that it was the custom to fast the forty days of Lent in Rome, and that the passage in St. Leo's homily, which in the week, is spurious.—S. Leon. Opp., tom. ii. ed. Ballerin. Venet. 1756.

f By Langus, printed at Antwerp

Nicephor, Callist, Eccles, Hist., lib.
 cap. 39. p. 208. ed. Lang.
 Nuncupatoria ad Stanislaum Tur-

zon, Olomutz, Episcop, Basil, 1528.

b Samuelis Petiti Variarum Lectionum libri iv. p. 89. Paris, 1633.

^c Eusebii Cæsariens. Ecclesiastic.

d Qui quadraginta dierum intervallum definiverunt, non singulis illis diebus jejunandum esse indixerunt, omnes quidem, sed quibusdam intra illos quadraginta tantum. Quemadmodum enim Judæi, ubi pluribus diebus erat jejunandum, duos dies singulis hebdomadibus jejunio destinabant, nempe feriam ecundam et feriam quintam.-Petit. Var. Lect. iii. 4. p. 90.

Romani vero tres tantum ferias singulis illis sex septimanis jejunabant

which he found of the Greek of Eusebius, out of which much CHAP. might have been mended in that Latin, instanceth in this passage thus: Incidi nuperrime in σύνοψιν quandam της εὐαγγελικής ίστορίας Græcam, quam cum evolverem, occurrerunt forte fortuna Irenæi verba quæ Eusebius, cap. xxiii. l. v. citat, de jejuniorum diversitate, sic Græce habentia; Οί μεν γάρ μίαν μόνην ήμέραν ένήστευον, οί δὲ δύο, οί δὲ πλείονας, οί δέ τεσσα-276 ράκοντα ώρας μόνας ήμερινας και νυκτερινας, ώραν αντί ήμέρας υηστεύοντες. "Very lately," saith he, "I lighted upon a certain abridgment of evangelical history in Greek, which turning over, I met by mere chance with the words of Irenæus, which Eusebius citeth, v. 23, concerning difference in fasting, which in Greek run thus; For some fasted one day, some two, some more, some forty hours of the day and night, fasting an hour for a day:" that is, forty hours for the forty days of Lent afterwards.

§ 25. This reading maketh the conjecture probable that [Why it was first called τεσσαρακοστή, or quadragesima, for the quadranumber of forty hours, which they fasted at the beginning gesima.] for the time of our Lord's being under the power of death, from twelve on Friday till the Sunday morning. For in the Constitutions of the Apostles, v. 141, the fast is not to be ended till then at cock's crowing, which afterwards was enlarged to forty days, as the author alleged by Rhenanus saith, "That it was, at the first, of forty hours, an hour for a day," to wit, of those days that were observed afterwards. The issue of this dispute-whether forty days were observed in the Church before Irenæus' time, or not-must rest upon the true reading of his words in Eusebius: for though there is mention of τεσσαρακοστή or quadragesima in Ignatiusk, and perhaps elsewhere, yet it is not said to be called so from 277 forty days in the writings of those times, to my knowledge. In the mean time it is manifest that there is no time of the Church to be assigned when the festival of the Resurrection, and the fast afore it, were not solemnized.

ι 'Απονηστεύσαι δὲ προσέταξε τῆ έβ-

18. Labbei, tom. i. col. 365. ed. Venet.

k Τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε·
μίμησιν γὰρ περιέχει τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου
πολιτείας.—Ερ. ad Philippens., cap.
xiii. p. 124. ed. Coteler. The epistle
is spurious.

CHAP VIII. [In the Wednesday and Friday fasts.]

§ 26. The fast upon Wednesdays and Fridays is referred to the like reason in the Constitutions of the Apostles, v. 15, vii. 231: "The Wednesday is to be fasted," saith he, "because on it our Lord was betrayed, and the bargain made between Judas and the priests. The Friday, because he suffered upon it." Epiphanius alleging the like reason, referreth the order to the Apostles, Expos. Fidei Cathol." num. 22: Zuvákar δὲ ἐπιτελούμεναι ταχθεῖσαί εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ᾿Αποστόλων, τετράδι καὶ προσαββάτφ, καὶ κυριακή, τετράδι δὲ καὶ ἐν προσαββάτψ έν νηστεία εως ώρας έννάτης. "But the assemblies we hold are appointed by the Apostles upon the Wednesday and Friday, and upon the Lord's day; upon those in fasting until the ninth hour." I marvel not to hear him refer those customs, whereof they knew no beginning, to the order of the Apostles. But the terms on which the Catholic Christians stand against Montanus and his sect, in Tertullian, de Jejuniis, cap. ii., may help to lead us to the true ground of it: Itaque de cætero indifferenter jejunandum, ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ, pro temporibus et causis uniuscujusque. Sic et Apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum et in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum; proinde nec stationum, quæ et ipsæ suos quidem dies habeant, quartæ 171 feriæ et sextæ, passivè tamen currant, neque sub lege præcepti. "Therefore otherwise," beside the days on which the bridegroom was taken away, "they say we are to fast indifferently, arbitrarily, not upon command of the new discipline, according to each man's times and occasions. And that so the Apostles observed, imposing no other yoke, of certain fasts to be performed of all; neither by the same reason of stations, which, they say, have also their days of Wednesday and Friday, but of ordinary course, under the law of no precept." For which cause he calleth these stations semijejunia, or, "half-fasts," cap. xiii.n of that book.

¹ Τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν προσέταξεν ἡμῶν νηστεύευ" τὴν μὲν διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν, τὴν δὲ διὰ τὸ πάθος.—Col. 361. Τμεῖς δὲ ἢ τὰς πέντε νηστεύσατε ἡμερὰς ἤ τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν" ὅτι τῆ μὲν τετράδι ἡ κρίσις ἐξῆλθεν ἡ κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, Ἰούδα χρήμασιν ἐπαγγειλαμένου τὴν προδοσίαν" τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν, ὅτι ἔπαθεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν αὐτῆ πάθος τὸ διὰ σταυ-

ροῦ, ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου.—Lib. vii. cap. 23. Labbei, tom. i. col. 425. ed. Venet. S. Epiphan. Opp., tom. i. p. 1104.

ed. Colon. 1682.

ⁿ Ecce enim convenio vos et præter Pascha jejunantes, citra illos dies, quibus ablatus est sponsus; et stationum semijejunia interponentes.—P. 987. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662.

§ 27. The Wednesday and Friday assemblies of the primi- CHAP. tive Christians, with fasting, were not of such strict and solemn observance. No more were those of Mondays and strict ob-Thursdays in the synagogue, and therefore taken up in servance.] imitation of the synagogue, and upon the like reasons. The general whereof is well laid down by St. Hierome upon Gal. iv. 10°. His question is, how the Church, appointing festivals and set times of fastings, is clear of the Apostle's charge upon the Galatians there, "Ye observe days, and months, and years; I fear lest I have laboured upon you in vain." His answer is, first, Et nè inordinata congregatio populi fidem minueret in Christo, propterea dies aliqui constituti sunt, ut in unum 279 omnes pariter veniremus. Non quò celebrior sit dies illa qua convenimus, sed quò, quacunque die conveniendum sit, ex conspectu mutuo lætitia major oriatur. "And lest the disorderly assembling of the people should abate faith in Christ, therefore certain days are appointed for all to assemble at once: not because the day on which we assemble is more notable than others, but because on what day soever we assemble, by seeing one another, more gladness ariseth." Meaning that gladness wherewith they celebrated their festivals. So his mind is, that all difference of days among Christians, is in respect to the order of their assemblies, and that in respect to the work of those assemblies.

§ 28. Again P, Qui acutius respondere conatur, illud affirmat : omnes dies æquales esse Jejunia autem et congregationes, inter dies, propter eos, à viris prudentibus constitutos, qui magis sæculo vacant quam Deo, nec possunt, imò nolunt, toto in ecclesia vitæ suæ tempore congregari, et ante humanos actus, Deo orationum suarum offerre sacrificium. "One that endeavoureth to make a more subtle answer saith that all days are equal, but that fasts and assemblies are appointed among other days by discreet men, for those that spend more time in the world than on God, and cannot, nay, will not, assemble, all days of their life, in the Church, to offer unto God the sacrifice of their prayers before human actions." Adding, that whereas the Jews' service was confined to certain times, 280 that of Christians is always seasonable. The primitive Chris-

o S. Hieron, Opp. Omn., tom. iv. col. P Ib., col. 272. 271. ed. Ben.

CHAP. tians were always assembled, always in posture for the service of God, as we read in the Acts: when the number increased there was no expectation of human reason that they could continue so unanimous in frequenting their assemblies for that purpose. The neglect of them must needs prove an abatement; the disorder of them, a scandal to the faith. Here the wisdom and the authority of the Church-guides behoved to take place, by customing certain times, whereof the occasion was justest, to confine men from secular employments to better purposes. And how this course prevailed in matter of festivals I refer to those well-known words of St. Augustine, Ep. cxviii.q, where being to instance in some universal custom of the whole Church, Sicuti, saith he, quod Domini passio, et resurrectio, et ascensio in cœlum, et adventus de cœlo Spiritus Sancti, anniversariá solemnitate celebrantur, et siquid aliud tale occurrit quod servatur ab universa, quacunque se diffundit, Ecclesia. "As, that the passion, the resurrection, and ascension of our Lord into heaven, and the coming of the Holy Ghost from heaven, is celebrated with yearly solemnity, and if there be any thing else which all the Church, wheresoever dispersed, observeth."

[Fasting the duty of Chris-

§ 29. As for times of fasting, the answer of our Lord importeth two things: first, that His purpose was, that the out-281 ward freedom which He allowed His disciples for the time should symbolize with the inward comfort which the Gospel professeth, and conduct and train them-as trained they were by His doctrine, in divers particulars, by corporal to spiritual things-to understand it. The second, the reason of this purpose, because they were old vessels for the present, which a strict discipline for the present might cause to fly in pieces: but when the new wine of the Holy Ghost should make the vessels new, into which it was put on the day of Pentecost, then should they fast-then should they be willing to undertake the discipline which their profession suited with. Accordingly we may find them serving God with prayer and fasting, Acts xiii. 3, 4; xiv. 23. But because disorder or coldness in this voluntary performance might disadvantage the faith, it soon proved time to bring those voluntary observances to set rules of practice. These causes thus disposing

9 Ad Inquisit, Januar., lib. i. ep. liv. tom. ii. col. 124. ed. Ben.

the Church, and the precedent of the synagogue directing CHAP. not to do less, what course should it observe, but, instead of-Mondays and Thursdays used in the synagogue, to practise Wednesdays and Fridays for this purpose? holding in them a convenient distance from the Lord's day, as those other did from the Sabbath.

282 § 30. Their writers tell us-beside the reason specified out [Reason of of Maimoni afore r, that they might not rest three days from the Jewish weekly hearing the law-that they made choice of Mondays and fasts.] Thursdays in regard of some great calamities that befel their nation upon those days: what marvel is it if the Church had regard to those things which befel our Lord on the Wednesday and Friday, the other moral reason of assembling once in three days for God's service concurring? Those ancient Christians of Tertullian's time conceived that the fast afore Easter is appointed in the Scripture which saith, "The days will come that the bridegroom shall be taken from among you, and then shall ye fast in those days," and Tertullian is content to have it believed, because Montanus required that and more.

§ 31. But St. Augustine found that there is a command in [Days of Scripture to fast, but no time commanded when it shall be not deterdone, Ep. lxxxvi." So he would have accepted their reason, mined in Scripture.] as an allusion handsomely symbolizing with the nature of fasting, but the appointment he must needs refer to the custom of the Church and the ordinance of the guides of it. It is not much otherwise with those other days wherewith some enlarged the fast afore Easter, even afore Irenæus' time: it is not much otherwise with the Wednesday and Friday assemblies, though Tertullian is willing to have them both counted 283 innovations in the Church, on purpose to bring them into rank with Montanus' discipline, for which he pleadeth, recharging the Catholic Christians, Et præter Pascha jejunantes, citra illos dies, quibus ablatus est sponsus, et stationum semijejunia interponentes; De Jejuniis, cap. xiii. "Both as fasting besides the passover, over and above those days on which

THORNDIKE,

junium. Quibus autem diebus non oporteat jejunare et quibus oporteat, præ-cepto Domini vel Apostolorum non in-venio definitum.—S. Aug. Ep. xxxvi. ad Casulan., tom. ii. col. 78. ed. Ben.

^{*} Sect. 19. * Ego in Evangelicis et Apostolicis litteris totoque instrumento quod appellatur Testamentum novum, animo id revolvens, video præceptum esse je-

CHAP, the bridegroom was taken away, and interposing the half - fasts of stations."

of our Lord.

§ 32. But the betraying of Christ and His death is a reason memorial that may take place to move them, that have resolved to appoint set days of fasting every week, to choose the days on which those things fell out afore others, especially being in a convenient distance from the Lord's day, the assemblies whereof were most solemn; otherwise, to think that there was no more reason than that for an appointment of such consequence, is to make them as childish as they would have them, that had rather despise than either observe or understand their ordinances, though the purpose be no more than to bring the precepts of fasting and of the public service of God into the ordinary and uniform practice of His Church, which being commanded but in general, without such particular appointment are not like to be exercised to great purpose. Whereas the discipline of Montanus set up in downright terms a schism in the Church, by assembling apart for the 284 exercise of their own particular and voluntary observations, whatsoever heresies besides it may have been embarked with.

day and Friday.

[Antiquity § 33. How ancient the observation of the observance Friday assemblies was in the Church is to be valued by the servance Friday assemblies was in the Church is to be valued by the of Wednes- recommendation of them in Ignatius, Ep. ad Philip. t, and Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. vii.u How uniform the observation of them was in the ancient Church is to be known from Epiphanius' words, Hær. lvi. *: Τίνι δὲ οὐ συμπεφώνηται, έν πάσι κλίμασι τής οἰκουμένης, ὅτι τετρὰς, καὶ προσάββατον, νηστεία έστιν έν τῆ έκκλησία ώρισμένη; "Who agreeth not," saith he, "in all climates of the world, that the Wednesday and the Friday are fasts appointed in the Church?" And when Tertullian saith in the same cap. xiii. y afterwards, that

ι Μετά τὴν τοῦ πάθους έβδομάδα, μὴ παροράτε τετράδα και παρασκευήν, νηστεύοντες, πένησιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντες τὴν περισσείαν. Cap. xiii. p. 124. ed. Coteler. See note k, sect. 25.

[&]quot; Οίδεν αύτος και της νηστείας τά αίνίγματα τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων, τῆς τετράδος, καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς λέγω. ἐπιφημίζονται γὰρ, ἡ μὲν, Ἑρμοῦ ἡ δὲ, ᾿Αφροδίτης. αὐτίκα νηστεύει κατὰ τὸν βίον φιλαργυρίας τε όμοῦ καὶ φιληδο-νίας ἐξ ὧν αὶ πᾶσαι ἐκφύονται κακίαι. —S. Clement. Stromat. lib. vii. cap. xii.

p. 877, ed. Venet. St. Clement gives moral reasons for the observation of these days, concealing the mystical, according to the principle of the treatise.

S. Epiphan, Contr. Ærium, Hæres.

^{75.} num. 6. p. 910. ed. Colon.

7 Bene autem, quod et Episcopi
universæ plebi mandare jejunia assolent, non dico de industria stipium conferendarum, ut vestræ capturæ est, sed interdum et ex aliqua solicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa.—De Jejuniis, cap. xiii. p. 987. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662.

the Bishops were wont to appoint extraordinary fasts upon CHAP. occasions which made the Church solicitous; there can no question be made but they were wont to choose the Wednesdays and Fridays to be observed with more strictness upon these occasions: because we saw afore that all fasts that were indicted in the synagogue were by order to fall upon the Mondays and Thursdays, which in a lower degree they observed otherwise.

§ 34. And therefore the order of this Church of England [Retained instituting festivals for the public service of God, in remem-land. brance of His most remarkable blessings, instituting times of 285 humiliation and fasting for diverting His wrath, which our sins contract from time to time, standeth recommended to us by the practice of the most ancient times of the Church. Setting aside difference of meats for conscience sake, whereof we speak not here, as was saida; opinion of merit, of satisfaction, of the worship of God, being abolished, by the reason of the institution here professed, the form of service appointed by the Church recommendeth the difference of days to our devotions. And though we come not near the strictness of abstinence wherewith in the primitive Church they were wont to afflict themselves-and perhaps for very good reasons we come not near it-yet to assemble for the public service of God-even in those places where there is not opportunity to assemble every day, as you saw it was practised in the synagogue-to abstain till these assemblies be over, setting aside the favour we lend our own ease, must needs appear most commendable.

§ 35. I cannot say that this institution in respect of set [Set aside days for fasting hath found so good respect for the particular tinental rein the reformed Churches: the general reason is thus set formers.] down by Melancthon among chief reformers, Apologia Confessionis de Trad. p. 1715; Cæterum ritus humanos observabant,-

admonendum vulgus.—p. 76. Dicit probandas esse traditiones factas διὰ την εγκράτειαν, ή διά την πολιτείαν, hoc est, aut ad coercendam carnem, propter disciplinam rudium, aut propter politicum ordinem. Et nos prop-ter has causas recte servari posse traditiones judicamus. Ut populus so-brius intersit sacris; sicut Josaphat, et rex Ninive jejunia indixerunt. Item

[#] Sect. 20.

Sect. 15.

b Cæterum ritus humanos observabant propter utilitatem corporalem; ut sciret populus quo tempore conveniendum esset; ut ordine et graviter, in templis, exempli causa, fierent omnia; denique ut vulgus etiam haberet quan-dam παιδαγωγίαν. Nam discrimina temporum, et varietas rituum valet ad

CHAP. "Otherwise the Fathers observed human rites for outward 286 benefit, that the people might know what time to assemble, that all things might be done in Churches orderly, and gravely, and exemplarily; last of all, that the common sort might have some pædagogy or discipline. For the difference of times and varieties of rites serve to put in mind the common sort." And by and by afterwards, Dicit probandas esse traditiones,-" Epiphanius disputing against the Encratites saith that traditions are to be allowed that are made, διὰ τὴν εγκράτειαν, ή διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν, that is, either to restrain the flesh for discipline of the vulgar, or for order and government's sake. And we think that traditions may well be retained for these causes: that the people be at service sober" -that is, fasting, as it followeth-"as Josaphat and the king of Nineveh proclaimed fasts: likewise that the order and practice of the Church may teach the Church what was done, at what time. Hence come the festivals of the Nativity, Easter, Pentecost, and the like. This is that which Epiphanius saith, that traditions were ordained for policy's sake, that is, for order's sake, and that such order might put men in mind of the story and benefits of Christ. For marks of things painted as it were in rites and customs are much more effectual to put the vulgar in mind than writings."

Difference of service on fast and festival days. 7

§ 36. Now the difference of ancient [times] between several Churches in the point of public service upon festival and fasting-days is that which Epiphanius remembered aforec, 287 that the assemblies upon Wednesdays and Fridays were held all fasting till three after noon: and Tertullian, so long afore him, De Jejuniis, cap. ii.d, acknowledgeth the stations of the Christians were wont to be kept on Wednesdays and Fridays till three after noon; which he out of the leaven of Montanus is not content with. But of the Lord's day Epiphaniuse in the same place, Τὰς δὲ Κυριακὰς ἀπάσας τρυφερὰς ἡγεῖται ἡ

ut ordo et politia ecclesiæ doceat im-peritos, quid quo tempore gestum sit. Hinc sunt feriæ, Natalis, Paschatis, Pentecostes, et similes. Hoc est, quod Epiphanius ait, politiæ causa institutas esse traditiones, videlicet ordinis causa. et ut ordo ille admoneat homines de historia et de beneficiis Christi, Etenim multo efficacius admonent vulgus, notæ rei, quasi pictæ in moribus ac riti-

bus, quam literae.-August. Confess. ejusque Apologiæ, p. 77. Argentor. 1565.

c Cited in sect. 26.

d Orationes fere hora nona concludat de Petri exemplo quod Actis refertur.

—P. 982. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662.

Expos. fidei Catholic. num. 22. p. 1105.

άγία αυτη καθολική εκκλησία, καὶ συνάξεις ἀφ' εωθεν επιτελεί, ΟΗ ΑΡ. ού νηστεύει, άνακόλουθον γάρ έστιν έν Κυριακή νηστεύειν. "But all Lord's days this holy Catholic Church counteth glad days-τρυφεράς serveth to express that of the Prophet Esa. lviii. 13, 'And call the Sabbath delight,' which the Jews call עונג השבח, 'the delight of the Sabbath'-and holdeth assemblies from morning, fasteth not: for it is inconsequent to fast on the Lord's day." So to assemble in the morning was the mark of a festival; to depart at three after noon, of a fast.

§ 37. Further, Socrates v. 22 f, Αὐθις δὲ ἐν 'Αλεξανδρεία, τῆ How the τετράδι καὶ τῆ λεγομένη παρασκευῆ γραφαί τε ἀναγινώσκονται, was freκαὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ταύτας έρμηνεύουσι πάντα τε τὰ συνάξεως quented in the primiγίνεται, δίχα της των μυστηρίων τελετης και τουτο έστιν έν τίν 'Αλεξανδρεία έθος άρχαῖον, καὶ γὰρ 'Ωριγένης τὰ πολλά έν ταύταις ταις ημέραις φαίνεται έπὶ της ἐκκλησίας διδάξαι. "Again, at Alexandria on Wednesdays and Fridays, both the Scriptures are read and the doctors expound them, and all 288 that belongeth to an assembly is done, beside celebrating the mysteries. And this is an ancient custom at Alexandria: for it appeareth that Origen taught most of his writings on these days in the Church." Because they took the Eucharist to be a piece of festival observance, therefore they thought it not suitable when they fasted. Therefore it is ordered, Conc. Laod., can. xlix.8, ότι οὐ δεῖ τῆ τεσσαρακοστῆ ἄρτον προσφέρειν εί μὴ ἐν σαββάτω, καὶ Κυριακή μόνον. The meaning is that the Eucharist must not be celebrated in Lent, but upon the Sabbath and Lord's day, on neither whereof they fasted h. Nevertheless in other places this reason prevailed not. By Tertullian it appeareth, De Oratione, cap. xiv., that in his time

mili abstinentia vires deficiant, frustulo panis ex melle succumbentibus viribus succurrunt, Et sane admira-bile est intueri tenellam illam ætatem jejunio afflictam, et delassatam, et tantum non expirantem, tam pertinaciter in inedia illa perseverare, et mori potius velle quam jejunium frangere.— Leon. Allat. de Eccles. Occident. et Orient. perpet. Consens. lib. iii. cap. ix. 3. p. 1045-6. Colon. Agripp. 1648. i Similiter de stationum diebus, non

putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum, quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Domini.

Socrat. Eccles. Hist. p. 289. ed. Vales.

g Circ. A.D. 364. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1540. ed. Venet.

h Quadraginta et octo dies ante Pascha singulis diebus hebdomadis, exceptis Sabbato et Dominico, sicca comedunt, ut de monachis diximus. Sabbato et Dominico oleum et vinum permittitur, et bina comestio De hoc jejunio illud quoque addam, plures ex sæcularibus, et quod magis mirêre ex virgunculis, tres primos, tres medios et tres postremos Quadragesimæ dies nullo victu potuque peragere. Quod si si-

CHAP, and the parts where he lived, the Eucharist was celebrated on days of fasting. And in the same place he disputeth against those that forbore the kiss of peace "-used in some places afore receiving the Eucharist, in some places after it, Conc. Laod., can. xix. Innocent. I. ad Decentium - upon days of fasting: which was an observance of fasting-days derived from the synagogue, where their fashion was not to salute one another when they fasted. Maimoni, Taanioth, cap. iii. num. 8, cap. v. num. 11.1 And St. Basil, Epist. cclxxxix.0, 'Ημείς μέντοιγε τέταρτον καθ' εκάστην εβδομάδα κοινωνούμεν, έν τη Κυριακή, έν τη τετράδι, και έν τη παρασκευή, και τώ σαββάτω, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ἐὰν ἡ μνήμη μάρτυρός TWOS. "Yet we communicate four times a week, Lord's days, 289 Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sabbaths, and on other days if the memory of a martyr fall out.

Daily

§ 38. In fine, certain it is which St. Augustine delivereth in in some Churches, this point, Epist. exviii., Alia vero que per loca terrarum regionesque variantur, sicuti est quòd alii jejunant Sabbato, alii non: alii quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini Domini, alii certis diebus accipiunt: alibi nullus dies prætermittitur, quo non offeratur, alibi Sabbato tantum et Dominico, alibi tantum Dominico: et siquid aliud hujusmodi animadverti potest, totum hoc genus rerum liberas habet observationes. "Other things, which change according to places and countries of the world-as that some fast on Saturday, some not: some parti-

> Ergo devotum Deo obsequium Eucharistia resolvit, an magis Deo obligat? Nonne solemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris? Accepto corpore Domini et reservato utrumque salvum est, et participatio sacrificii, et execu-tio officii.—P. 183. ed. Pam. Rothom.

> k Alia jam consuetudo invaluit, je-junantes habita oratione cum fratribus subtrahunt osculum pacis, quod est signaculum orationis. Quando autem est, nisi cum oratione commendabilior ascendit, ut ipsi de nostra operatione participent, quam auderant de participent, quam auderent de sua pace fratri transigere? Quæ oratio cum divortio sancti osculi integra, quem Domino officium facientem impedit pax? Quale sacrificium est, a quo sine pace receditur?—De Oration. cap. xiv. p. 183. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.
>
> ¹ Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πρεσβυτέρους δοῦναι

τῷ ἐπισκόπῷ τὴν εἰρήνην, τοτὲ τοὺς λαϊκοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διδόναι. Καὶ οὕτω την άγιαν προσφοράν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.— Labbei, tom. i. col. 1533. ed. Venet.

m Pacem ergo asseris ante confecta mysteria quosdam populis imperare, vel sibi inter sacerdotes tradere, cum post omnia, quæ aperire non debeo, pax sit necessario indicenda, per quam constet, populum ad omnia, quæ in mysteriis aguntur, atque in Ecclesia celebrantur, præbuisse consensum, ac finita esse, pacis concludentis signaculo demon-Venet. See Cardinal Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. cap. xvi. § 6, 7.

De Jejuniis Hebræorum, pp. 22—

87. ed. Carpzov. Lipsiæ, 1662.
S. Basil. Ep. xciii. tom. iii. p. 186.
ed. Ben. The Benedictine editors read 'Aγίου instead of Μάρτυροs.
β Ad Inquis. Januar., lib. i. Ep. liv.

tom. ii. col. 124, ed. Ben.

cipate every day of the Lord's Body and Blood, some receive CHAP. on certain days: in some places no day is intermitted, but it is celebrated: otherwhere only on the Sabbath and Lord's day, otherwhere on the Lord's day alone: and if any thing else of this sort can be observed-all matters of this kind, I say, are of free observance." This indifference, or this difference, notwithstanding, we shall perceive the whole custom of the ancient Church was to celebrate the Eucharist, if not every day, yet upon all Lord's days, if not rather by consequence upon all festivals, or all days of more solemn assemblies, as the crown of the service for which they assembled: both upon example of the primitive time.

§ 39. The practice of them that celebrated and received [Accordthe Eucharist every day, standeth upon the example of the ing to the practice of primitive Christians at Jerusalem. Of whom when it is said, the early Church, that "they continued constant in the doctrine of the Apostles, and communion, and in breaking bread, and prayers;" and that "continuing with one mind in the temple, and from house to house, they did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart:" to what purpose shall we imagine that breaking bread and communion is mentioned, beside the service of the temple, but to signify the service of the Eucharist, proper to the faith of Christians, in which they communicated among themselves, as with the Jews in the service of the temple? knowing that at the first it was used at mealsas it was instituted-among Christians.

§ 40. This notwithstanding, in other places, it seemeth the [Weekly Eucharist was celebrated but upon Lord's days, as well in the in some times of the Apostles, as in the Church that succeeded. Acts places.] xx. 7: "On the first day of the week, the disciples being assembled to break bread;" that is, "to celebrate the Eucharist," as the Syriac translateth it. Here the first day of the week seemeth to stand against the rest, in terms of difference, as if upon other days they did it not. And that is the day which St. Paul appointeth the Church of Corinth, as he had

291 done the Churches of Galatia, to make their collections for the poor, which Tertullian sheweth was done at their assemblies, 1 Cor. xvi. 2, Tertull. Apolog., cap. xxxix., and in

strua die, vel cum velit; et si modo velit, et si modo possit? apponit: nam nemo

Acts ii. 42-46.

Modicam unusquisque stipem men-

CHAP. Pliny's epistle concerning the Christians of his government, Quòd essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire. "That they were wont on a set day to assemble before light." What day but the Lord's day can we think might be set for this purpose? Justin Martyr, for certain, mentioneth no other assemblies of Christians, but on the Lord's day, in the place afore named. And in the Constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 59, where he exhorteth to assemble every day morning and evening, as was said afore, the Eucharist is mentioned to be celebrated but upon Lord's days, as it followeth afterwards". Pliny's words in that place are these at large, Epist. lib. x. xcvii.: Quòd essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem; seque Sacramento, non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed nè furta, nè latrocinia, nè adulteria committerent, nè fidem fallerent, nè depositum appellati abnegarent, quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium. The Christians confessed "that they were wont to assemble on a set day before light, and to sing praise among themselves to Christ as to God; and to tie themselves upon a Sacrament, not to any wickedness, but not to commit thefts, 292 robberies, or adulteries, not to falsify their trust, or deny a thing deposited, being demanded. This done, that their custom was to depart, and meet again to eat together, but in a vulgar and innocent sort."

[Eucharist celebrated

§ 41. Grotius of late, upon Matth. xxvi. 25x, seemeth to conceive that at the beginning the Eucharist was not celebrated but at meals, as it was instituted by our Lord. And that so it was celebrated, not only under the Apostle, as Acts xx. 11, 1 Cor. xi., or under Ignatius, but in Justin Martyr and Tertullian's time, appeareth by their words. Justin.,

compellitur, sed sponte confert. Hæc quasi deposita pietatis sunt, nam inde non epulis, nec potaculis, nec ingratis voratrinis dispensatur, sed egenis alendis humandisque et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, jamque domesticis senībus, item naufragis, et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis, vel in custodiis, duntaxat ex causa Dei sectæ, alumni confessionis suæ fiunt.-P. 68. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662.

- Chap. vi. sect. 10.
 Chap. viii. sect. 13.

See note q, chap. viii. sect. 13.
Primi quoque Christiani inter cœ-

nandum celebrarunt hoc mysterium; κλῶντές τε κατ' οἶκον . . . inquit Lucas Actor. ii. 46. Vide et confer quod dicitur Actor. xx. 7 et 11. Hoc est quod Plinius ait Coisse Christianos ad capiendum cibum sed promiseuum et innoxium. Idque ipsum est quod δεῖπνον Κυριακόν cœnam Dominicam Paulus ad Corinthios vocat.-Grotii Comm. in S. Matth. xxvi. 26. pp. 248, 249. Amstel. 1679.

Dial. cum Tryph. " Ότι μεν ούν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι CHAP. ύπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεώ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτός φημι ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιείν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ύγρας, ἐν ἡ καὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὁ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, μέμνηται. "Therefore that prayers and thanksgivings made by the worthy are the only complete sacrifices and acceptable to God, I also affirm: for these alone Christians also have received order to perform, and that upon remembrance both of their dry and moist nourishment: at which there is also remembrance of the Passion which God of God Himself suffered." The like, Apol. i., the words shall follow afterwardsz. Tertullian, de Corona Militis, cap. iii.: Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, et in tempore victûs, et omnibus mandatum à Domino, etiam antelucanis cætibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. "The Sacrament of the 293 Eucharist, commanded by our Lord, both to all, and at meat time, we receive also at our assemblies afore day, but at no man's hands but our presidents'." They are the words whereupon he groundeth: for Tertullian reckoneth it among traditions, that is, customs of the Church not commanded in Scripture". Which notwithstanding nothing hindereth, but the

§ 42. To which opinion I rather incline. Otherwise, [of the whence should the custom rise, in Justin and Tertullian's love.] time, to celebrate the Eucharist at their morning assemblies, when it was still in use at supper time, in their feasts of love? that is it which Ignatius calleth δοχήν ἐπιτελεῖν, in the ancient translation alleged elsewhereb, translated agapen facere, in that which is extant, missam facerec, which he saith must not be held without the Bishop, and that must be in respect of the Eucharist. And when Justin and Tertullian affirm that it was frequented at meals, we must needs understand it, in the first place, of those meals to which they

same might be practised in the Apostles' time, and remem-

ed. Ben.

bered in the Scriptures.

S. Justin. Opp. p. 210. cap. exvii. firmatrix et fides observatrix.-Ib., p. 289. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

In chap. x. sect. 3.

^{*} Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules scripturarum nullam invenies: traditio tibi prætendetur auctrix, consuetudo con-

Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 15. * Ep. Interp. ad Smyrn., cap. viii. p. 90. ed. Coteler. See Usher's note there.

CHAP. assembled for the exercise of Christian charity and the praises of God, as we see in Tertullian, Apol. cap. xxxix.d, where if we find nothing of celebrating the Eucharist, it is to be attributed to Cassander's reasone, because it was not his pur-294 pose to make known the fashion of the Eucharist to unbelievers, which might bring it into contempt among them.

§ 43. Pliny's words alleged seem to import that the Christians of his time assembled twice on Lord's days, before day, morning.] and at night. Before day, to praise Christ as God, and to tie themselves upon a Sacrament, or oath, to make good what they professed. I have not yet found that they were wont to make any such formal oath to themselves, and must think it strange that they should renew it at all solemn assemblies; and therefore do believe that his meaning concerneth the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which of its own nature, we know, is an obligation to such purpose. At night, when they met to eat together, it hath been shewed that the Eucharist was celebrated. And so Pliny's words import the same that Justin's [do], in which he describeth to us the celebration of the Eucharist at solemn morning service, and elsewhere at meals, among which the feasts of love had the first place; and both of them the same that the Apostle [doth] in this place. His meaning in the eleventh chapter is not to abrogate those feasts of love, but to take a course that they might be held in common for the exercise of Christian charity, and the public service of God. Therefore if any man pretended the necessities of nature, he giveth him leave to eat at home, xi. 34, because it hath appeared that these assemblies were held towards 295 night, and that-when the custom of the world was to entertain themselves-then they assembled to this sober and Christian refreshment. But in this fourteenth chapter he hath touched all the parts of public service at solemn assemblics, prayers, the praises of God, the reading and expounding of the Scriptures: and therefore when he saith, ver. 16, "Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving

et nondum initiatos sermo haberetur, omissum fuit.—Cassand. Liturgic., cap. iv. p. 14. Paris. 1616.

d Quoted in chap. vi. sect. 7.
Additur vero hic [ad uxor. lib. ii. cap. vi.] de cibo et poculo Christi, quod ibi fortassis, quod ad paganos

of thanks?" my purpose is to shew that he referreth to the CHAP. celebration of the Eucharist in particular, and that thanks-giving which from the beginning it was consecrated with: to which purpose I have premised these probabilities, that the Eucharist was then celebrated at their morning assemblies.

§ 44. In the mean time, it is plain by the rubric of our service, which saith, "Upon the holy-days, if there be no communion, shall be said,"—with that which followeth; and
with the
more plain by the rubric of the first edition of Edward VI.,

after the exhortation, which saith, "In cathedral churches, Reformers.
or other places, where there is daily communion,"—and
again, "And if upon the Sunday or holy-day the people
be negligent to come to the communion,"—that our reformers affected the frequentation of this service, according
to the primitive practice, so far as they thought it attainable.

And according to them, Calvin, iv. Instit. xvii. 43. 46^s, roundly professeth that it behoveth that the Eucharist be celebrated at least once a-week. Where let me have leave to say, that it had been much more for the edification of the Church to have laboured in reducing this pious intention of our reformers into practice, than to contend about saying that part of the service—which nevertheless, as shall appear, never properly belonged to the celebration of that Sacrament—at the place appointed for the ministering of it.

gulis ad minimum hebdomadibus proponeretur Ecclesiæ.—§ 43. . . . singulis ad minimum hebdoma-

Changed at the Restoration into "Upon the Sundays and other holydays."

Porro tanta ceremoniarum conge-

g Porro tanta ceremoniarum congerie facessere jussa, sic administrari decentissime poterat, si sapissime et sin-

^{...} singulis ad minimum hebdomadibus proponenda erat Christianorum cœtui mensa Domini.—§ 46.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REASONS WHY IT IS FOR THE EDIFICATION OF THE CHURCH TO USE CEREMONIES IN PUBLIC SERVICE. IT IS AVOWED BY THE CHIEF RE-FORMERS. OF THE RESPECT OF TIMES AND PLACES. OF THE DIFFER-ENCE OF VESTURES AND GESTURES. CAUTION IN MATTER OF CERE-MONIES. THE OBLIGATION OF RULES WHEREBY THEY ARE DETER-

CHAP. public

OF the rites, and circumstances, and ceremonies of God's - service in public, it concerneth to say something here, where sons why we are about the general order of it: and yet so much hath it is for the been said of it, and to so good purpose, that he that would of the come down to the particulars of it, shall be enforced to say 297 over what hath been said again. My purpose is to discourse in few words the reason and ground upon which in general it is expedient that the form of public service should be solemn and ceremonious, according to the method hitherto used. And that is this which I touched aforeh: because the rule of the Apostle commandeth these things to be done both in order and with comeliness; and nothing can become the service of God but that which serveth to stir up, and to exercise the inward reverence of the heart in ourselves, and to procure it in others. What that is, common reason must be judge, according to the Apostle'.

[Influence of cere-monies.]

§ 2. Here therefore lieth an appeal to the common reason of all the world, not to the particular reasons of persons interested in prejudice, whether that inward reverence and devotion of the heart, wherein the service of God consisteth, the exercise and maintenance of it do not require that it be in the circumstances and rites of it solemn and ceremonious? ask the world to what purpose the chief actions of it are transacted with so much observance in circumstances, but to procure and maintain that respect which the public good requireth they should possess in men's minds. In the state of princes, in the courts of judgment, in military matters, in 298 the passage of all public matters of any consequence, common sense is able to tell us what respect and observance is used,

h See chap. vi. sect. 22.

i See chap. vi. sect. 25.

and all reason alloweth the necessity of it: for by this means CHAP. is conveyed into the minds of the greatest part of people that reverence, in which the public good requireth all men to hold those powers, by which these great matters are managed; which it is not possible should make impressions upon gross minds, by conviction of reason, were they not managed by their senses.

§ 3. God hath made Christians, though governed by the [In Divine Spirit of His grace, as gross in their bodily senses and faculties of their minds, as other men of like education are: and it is a debt which the guides of the Church owe to the wise and unwise of God's people, to conduct them in the way of godliness by means proportionable to their faculties. The outward form of public service availeth much, even with them whose minds are best in tune, to corroborate their reverence and devotion at the service of God, by the exercise of it: but speaking of them whose minds are less withdrawn from their senses, how great impression shall the example of the world, practising the service of God in an orderly and reverent form, make in the minds of men that cannot receive it 299 from their reason, but from their senses? this effect in things of slight consequence in particular, which nevertheless altogether amount to a considerable sum, is better seen by the gross in practice, than convinced by retail in dispute: yet since the importunities of men have caused false reasons to prevail with weak people, it is requisite the true reasons be pleaded, lest it be thought there are none such, because not

§ 4. The circumstances and ceremonies of public service is [Necessity indeed a kind of discipline and pædagogy, whereby men subject to sense are guided in the exercise of godliness: it is, as it were, the apparel of religion at the heart; which some think, like the sun, most beautiful when it is most naked; and so it were indeed, did men consist of minds alone without bodies, but as long as our bodily senses are manageable to our soul's advantage, the heat within will starve without this apparel without. And therefore, under better judgment, I hold it requisite that the observance of rites and ceremonies in the public service of God, should increase and become more solemn after the world was come into the Church, than

so fit to be pleaded.

CHAP, under the persecuting times of it. Persecution was like anti-IX. peristasis in nature, in preserving order and reverence in the public offices of the Church, with the respect of those guides that ruled it.

[Increaseth with time.

§ 5. But since the net of the gospel hath been cast in the 300 ocean, and caught good and bad, it is more requisite that all should pass, as under rule and observance, so in the most reverent form, that the coldness and indifference of the worser part appear not to debauch the good disposition of others. Though from the beginning, as early as the records of the Church are able to inform us, we are sure it was never without such outward observances as, according to the state of the time, tended to maintain, to witness the disposition of the heart answerable.

[Instances in the New ment. 7

§ 6. The Apostle's ordinance of praying and singing psalms, men with heads bare, women with heads covered, the salutation of peace so long practised in the primitive Church, from the time of the Apostles, imposition of hands in divers acts of public service, signifying the over-shadowing of the Holy Ghostk, and God's hand stretched out to give the blessing for which prayer was made, and without question derived from the times of the Apostles, are of this nature. And it is thought that when the Apostles speak of putting off the old man, and putting on the new, Col. iii. 9, 10, ii. 11, -of burying in Baptism, Col. ii. 12, Rom. vi. 4,—of the unction of grace, 1 John ii. 20, 27, 1 Cor. ii. 12, allusion is made to some rites of ecclesiastical offices, used even at that time 1.

It is a-vowed by the chief

§ 7. As for ecclesiastical writers, it will be hard to name 301 any of them so ancient, in whom are not to be found divers Reformers particulars of this nature. But the general reason hitherto declared, hath been better sifted by the chief reformers. Philip, loco de Cærem, in Eccl., p. 651 m: Paulus gravissime dixit, 1 Cor. xiv., πάντα εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω. Non ordinem tantum, sed etiam singularem curam ornandi ordinis requirit : quare addidit εὐσχημόνως, ut videamus, quid personas, loca, tempora deceat. "Paul saith with much gravity, Let all things be done with decency, and in order. He

k See Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect,

3. 1 1. The white robes worn by the newly baptized, instead of their former garments. 2. Immersion in Baptism.
3. Anointing in Confirmation.

^m Melaneth. Opp., tom. i, fol. 296.

Wittebergee, 1562

requireth not order alone, but a singular care of setting that CHAP. order forth; therefore he addeth decently, that we consider what becometh persons, times, and places." This is it that I am now about, that the order of things done at public service be such as may set forth and insinuate the respect which those times, those places, those persons require. Which Calvin still setteth down in fuller terms, iv. Instit. x. 28: Ut in sacro fidelium cœtu decenter peragantur omnia, et quá convenit dignitate. "That in the holy assembly of the faithful all things be done decently, and in that worth and respect as befitteth." Afterwards he setteth down as much as I have done, when he saith, Ac decori quidem finis est, partim, ut dum adhibentur ritus qui venerationem rebus sacris concilient, talibus adminiculis ad pietatem excitemur: partim etiam, ut modestia, 302 et gravitas, quæ in omnibus honestis actionibus spectari debet, illic maximè eluceat. "And indeed the end of comeliness is, partly, that using such rites as procure reverence to sacred things, we may be by such helps excited to godliness: partly, that the modesty and gravity, which in all actions of respect ought to be attended, may there especially appear." Again, num. 29: Sed illud nobis decorum erit, quod ità erit ad sacrorum mysteriorum reverentiam aptum, ut sit idoneum ad pietatem exercitium, vel saltem quod ad ornatum faciet actioni congruentem : neque idipsum sine fructu, sed ut fideles admoneat, quanta modestiá, religione, observantiá sacra tractare debeant. "But that shall be counted decent with us, that shall so fit the reverence of holy mysteries, as may be a competent exercise unto godliness; or which at least may conduce to ornament suitable to the action: and that not without benefit, but to put the faithful in mind with how much modesty and religious observance they ought to be conversant in sacred actions." What this in general importeth, is that which I desire in the particular heads.

§ 8. Times and places are no way sanctified otherwise than Of the reas they are deputed to the service of God. The words of our times and Lord in the Gospel, Matth. xxiii. 19, "Which is the greater, places. the sacrifice, or the Altar that sanctifieth it?" point out to us a difference betwixt the law and the gospel in this parti-303 cular. For as St. Hierome said afore", that the service of

n Chap. viii. sectt. 27, 28,

CHAP. God in spirit and truth, proper to the dispensation of the gospel, is acceptable to God at all times, that all days are equal of themselves, no difference between them, but in respect to the assemblies of Christians upon them, and the work of those assemblies: so is it to be said with truth concerning places, to make it a general observation and a true one, that under the law the time and the place sanctified the service confined to it; but under the gospel the service re-

quired sanctifieth the time and place of it.

§ 9. For example, the passover on the due time was holy, on another time had been abominable: dwelling in tabernacles, commanded on such a day of such a month, used otherwise, no part of God's service, but sacrilege in usurping it: the sacrifices whereof our Lord speaketh, holy upon the Altar, otherwhere abominable. On the other side, the service of Christians being good by nature, and acceptable to God at all times and in all places, hath a special promise of God from the unity of the Church, and the assemblies in it. Which because they cannot be held without public order, confining them to times and places, thereupon those times and places, which are capable of no holiness in themselves, are nevertheless truly qualified holy, as an attribute derived from the holiness of those actions to which they are designed. 304 Which may well be called a relative or metonymical holiness. Thus are times and places consecrated, by being appointed to the service of God: places, as more subject to sense, by the execution of that appointment; that is, by the prayers of the Church, ministered by the guides of it.

[Of places.]

§ 10. But inasmuch as it behoveth that the service which shall be acceptable to God, be done in the unity of His Church, and that which is so done must be according to public order, confining the times and places of assemblies: hereupon those times and places which are capable of no holiness but that which is ascribed to them, in relation to that work whereunto they are assigned, give holiness to that work again, inasmuch as if it be done in opposition to that public order in which the unity of the Church consisteth, it is abominable afore God. He that hath promised to be present where we are assembled, by the same reason hath promised to be absent where we are divided: let them look

to themselves that cause it, those that do not have no cause CHAP. to doubt of God's presence. This is the ground of that respect which is due to the times and places of God's service, and which, if it go not beyond the consideration here expressed, cannot prove superstitious. The holiness of that 305 work which differenceth them, requireth they be so used as may conduce most to stir and maintain the right apprehension of that work in our own minds, and to convey it to others. If the days of our assemblies be employed upon ordinary business, no marvel if the mind prove not at leisure to attend the work for which they are designed. Churches are still more subject to sense than days are, and the common use of them common reason and experience will prove to breed a common esteem of the work of God's service, and in consequence of the Majesty that owneth it. If we remember that God is there present to accept the service of our assemblies, we cannot refuse to acknowledge respect due there in general, though we refer ourselves to law or commendable custom for the particular of ito.

§ 11. That which is to be said for the difference of vesture, Of the difin solemnizing the service of God, is much to this purpose P. restures The meaning of it is, to procure inward reverence to that and geswork which it maketh outwardly solemn; to represent to our own apprehensions, and to convey to other men's, the due

o "Whereas the Church is the house of God, dedicated to His holy worship, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatness and goodness of His Divine Majesty; certain it is that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but also out-wardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We there-fore think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obeisance, both at their coming in and going out of the said churches, chancels, or chapels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth."—Canons of 1640. Wilkins' Concil., tom. iv. p. 550.

p "As for the apparel there is no order in it, but confusion : no comeliness, but deformity; no obedience, but disobedience, both against God and the prince. We marvel that they could espy in their last synod, that a grey amice, which is but a garment of dignity, should be a garment, as they say, defiled with superstition, and yet that copes, caps, surplices, tippets, and such like baggage, the preaching signs of popish priesthood, the pope's creatures, kept in the same form to this end, to bring dignity and reverence to the ministers and Sacraments, should be retained still and not abolished. But they are as the garments of the idol, to which we should say, Avaunt, and get thee hence. They are as the garments of Balaamites, of popish priests, enemies to God and all Christians."—Admonition to the Parliament, pp. 17, 18; reprinted 1617.

CHAP, respect and esteem which it ought to bear in our hearts. And common reason and all experience justifieth this intent, for all the actions of esteem in the world are set forth with the like solemnities, to no other purpose but to convey by the senses to the mind that respect which they ought to bear, 306 And the world hath tried enough, that those which have made it part of their religion to stick scorn upon such slight circumstances, have made it no less to deface and disgrace the substance of God's public service.

§ 12. As for the difference of bodily gestures at the service [Influence § 12. As for the difference of bodily gestures at the service of bodily gestures.] of God, that is still a more considerable mean to procure and preserve that esteem and respect of it, for which I plead. The words of St. Augustine of the gestures of prayer are remarkable, De Cura gerenda pro Mortuis, cap. v. 9, which, he saith, are not used so much to lay the mind open to God, to whom the most invisible inclinations of the heart are best known, as to stir up a man's own mind to pray with more humble and fervent groans. And then it followeth, Et nescio quomodo, cùm hi motus corporis fieri nisi motu animi præcedente non possint, eisdem rursus exteriùs visibiliter factis, ille interior invisibilis qui eos fecit, augetur : ac per hoc cordis affectus, qui ut fierent ista præcessit, quia facta sunt, crescit. "And I know not how, though these bodily motions are not done without the motion of the mind going afore, yet again, by the outward visible doing of them, that inward and invisible one which causeth them increaseth: and so the affection of the heart, antecedent to the doing of these, by the doing of them gathereth strength." Christians have bodies as other men have, and though the service of God consist in the inward 307 intention of the mind, and the devotion of spirit which performeth it, yet this brute part of us is able to contribute so far towards it, as it refresheth in ourselves, and expresseth to others the inward motions wherein it consisteth.

> § 13. It is an impression of nature that teacheth all people thus to actuate, thus to animate the service they tender to God: and experience shall tell them that observe it, that where it is passed over with indifference, there men behave themselves more as hearers than actors in it; there, as the natural heat of the heart, so the inward heat of devotion,

⁹ S. August. Opp., tom. vi. col. 520. ed. Ben.

which ought to dwell there, stifleth and choketh for want CHAP. of this airing and exercise. Thus that which maintaineth the intention of the mind in private, multiplieth it in public, and propagateth in others that which it cherisheth in ourselves. Beside that, it contributeth towards the comeliness of such assemblies, if it be uniform. To good purpose it was a deacon's office in the primitive Church to put the people in mind of these observances, at least in great congregations.

§ 14. But in this whole matter of rites and ceremonies in Caution in common service, there is caution to be used, with which-of cerethough in the latitude of their nature indifferent-they will monies. prove an advantage to it; and without which they may 308 prove an offence in it. For the nature and kind of that which is done, respect is to be had to the end proposed. If the particular observed be not, according to reason, a circumstance apt to procure, to maintain in ourselves, to express and convey to others, that intention and reverence which the service of God requireth, for what cause shall we say it is observed? shall it be thought acceptable to God alone of itself, without reference to the due end and purpose? then must it needs turn to a voluntary observance, wherein we discharge ourselves to God, instead of the service He requireth. Besides, those that are not offensive for their kind, for their number may prove no less. For as the suckers that grow under great stocks, where there are too many, intercept that sap that should nourish the trees to bear fruit: so where the circumstances and ceremonies of public service are multiplied beyond measure, there the mind, distracted into a number of outward observations, cannot allow that intention to the substance which it spendeth upon the circumstance. And so it falleth out as afore, they are intended for their own sake, as acceptable to God of themselves, without respect of advancing that service which He requireth.

§ 15. Last, because it bath been shewed" that order as [Cere-309 well as comeliness is the rule to direct the form of God's grounded public service; and because, without order, nothing becometh on order and comeit, though with order apt to become it, that which hath been liness.] said is to be understood of those rites and ceremonies which public order enforceth, that is, which are either enjoined

CHAP. by law, or practised by custom which it alloweth: as for the voluntary observations of particular persons, they are by their nature subject to abuse, as is to be seen in the superstitions of the Church of Rome, which all reason sheweth had their beginning from the well-meant devotions of private persons. And therefore it is plain that they may prove a just subject of that offence to the weak, which the Apostle forbiddeth; which those that are practised upon public orders, declaring the due meaning of them, cannot, as my purpose is now to declare: because it is an objection, which if it take place, as some think, must needs overthrow the most part of that which hath been said to the order and circumstances of public service.

[Of weak Chris-tians,]

§ 16. It is to be known that there were two sorts of Jewish Christians under the Apostless, according to the difference of whom, both their doctrine and practice, especially of St. Paul, is to be valued. For, on the one side, the Apostles, in the council at Jerusalem, ordered, Acts xv. 20, that those which were converted from the Gentiles should abstain from 310 things dying in the blood and sacrificed to idols. St. Paul circumcised Timotheus, xvi. 3, purified himself according to the law, xxi. 26. In respect to the same sort, he is bold to say, Rom. xiv. 6, "He that regardeth a day, regardeth it to the Lord: and he that regardeth not a day, regardeth it not to the Lord: he that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks, and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks." And that, it seemeth, upon the consideration that followeth in the next words, because though not without blame for the ignorance of their freedom, yet living and dying to the Lord they had a pious intention in general to excuse their defect in particular.

them dif-

§ 17. But in regard to the other sort, it is the same Apostle that saith, Gal. iv. 10, 11, "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." And Coloss. ii. 16, "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of a feast, or new moon, or Sabbath:" expressing further what he meaneth, when he saith, "Let no man judge you:"

^{*} See Prim. Govern., chap. v. sectt. 2. 6.

ver. 8, "Beware lest any man spoil you:" and ver. 20, "Why CHAP. as living in the world are you subject to ordinances, touch not, taste not, handle not?" and to Titus, i. 10, "There are many unruly and vain talkers, and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped." 311 And wherein he expresseth, ver. 15, "Unto the clean all things are clean:" shewing that they were not to be tolerated but opposed in that which they taught, of differences of times and meats according to the law of Moses. According to his practice in Titus, whereof Gal. ii. 3, 4: "But neither Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised; and that because of false brethren slily foisting in, that came in privily to spy out our freedom which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage."

§ 18. This difference in the Apostles' practice and doc-[Reasons of that diftrine must needs proceed from the difference of persons they ference.] had to do with. The one, like men that were new come out of the dark, could not look right upon the light of that freedom which the Gospel estateth, and not satisfied of the right of Christians for their particular practice, made a conscience of days and meats according to the law. The other, renouncing their freedom, and in love with their own servitude, took upon them to dogmatize and maintain the necessity of such observations, upon those desperate consequences which the Apostle expresseth. Those are the weak, and these the strong, according to the Apostle; because though for reason weakest-for a false opinion is a further weakness than a doubt of the truth-yet for will most resolute to stand 312 in it. Those in action doubtful, these in opinion erroneous.

§ 19. These are the men whom the Apostle chargeth by [Of giving the law of love not to scandalize; shewing that in two things the weak.] it might be done: first, Rom. xiv. 15, "If thy brother be grieved with thy meat, then walkest thou not charitably: destroy not him with thy meat for whom Christ died." Which Origen conceivetht to point at such as took distaste

quid invenitur objectum, in quo of-fendant scandentium vel incedentium pedes. Hoc est ergo quod patiuntur hi qui viam fidei nuper ingressi, priorum vel contentionibus, vel negligen-

^{*} Hoc statuite ne per observantiam ciborum offensiones fratribus vel scandala generetis. De offensione vel scandalo jam supra diximus quod scandalum sit cum in via qua înceditur ali-

CHAP. at the profession of Christ, so as to forsake it upon occasion of such slight offences. And the vehemence of those terms which the Apostle useth seemeth to import no less. But by the words of the Apostle, ver. 15, "If thy brother be grieved with thy meat," and ver. 10, "Why judgest thou thy brother? why settest thou thy brother at nought?" it appeareth, that all discouragement of these weak ones is, in the sense of the Apostle, a degree of this offence. But there is another expressed, ver. 22, 23. That whereas it behoveth all men to be resolved of what they do, that it is acceptable to God, ver. 5, by the indiscreet example of one that understood his own freedom, he that did not might be moved to use it with a doubtful conscience, which the Apostle declareth to be sin. By the way, that offence whereof the Apostle writeth, 1 Cor. viii. 9, x. 27, is of another nature, not pertinent to this purpose; for here the offence is an example that moveth a man to do that which is lawful with a doubtful conscience: there 313 it is an example which moveth a man to do that which is unlawful with an erroneous conscience, that is to say, when the example of him that hath knowledge, eating that which was sacrificed unto idols, without difference, moveth the simple to participate in the worship of idols by feasting on their sacrifices.

[The argu-

§ 20. Thus it is supposed that offence is given to the weak offence to by the orders of this Church", when those that are not satisfied in the things ordered either take distaste thereupon at the Church and the communion of it, or are moved by example to do that which is ordered with a doubtful conscience. Where it must be excepted that no man can use this argument of scandal to the weak, but he must acknowledge the things ordered to be lawful. For the weak, whom the Apostle forbiddeth to offend, is he that is not persuaded of the lawfulness of that which is lawful indeed. Therefore in that they require that public order be not exacted in respect to the weak, they acknowledge the thing lawful, by acknowledging him weak that doubts of it; though in truth it concerneth them rather to inform the weak of the lawfulness of those

> tiis, vel contemptu et elationibus offenduntur, atque exemplis eorum recussi avertuntur a fide.—Origen. Comm. in

Roin., lib. ix. p. 664. tom. iv. ed. Ben. " See Didoclav. Altare Damascenum, pp. 550-560.

things which public order requireth at their hands, than to CHAP. continue them in their weakness, and thereupon pretend that public order ought not to be exacted at their hands*. Besides, he that pretendeth the scandal of the weak, by example moving to proceed upon a doubtful conscience, is not subject to that kind of offence. For in that he complaineth he sheweth he is aware enough of the danger: and it is without the compass of common sense to imagine that a man should stumble in following the example against which he

\$14 § 21. In fine, the opposition made to public order, and [Perversethat which it enjoineth, is evidence enough that they are not Puritans.] the weak but the strong, not the doubtful but the erroneousweak in reason but strong in will, or, as it was once well said, headstrong, in refusing without reason what order prescribeth -not those whom the Apostle chargeth to forbear, but those whom he forbeareth not a moment, Gal. ii. 5, whom he chargeth the Colossians and Titus not to forbear, that we have to deal with. The matters were light wherein their offence stuck, but the consequence which opposition drew involved the substance of the Gospel. So are the things slight which we stick at, but public order, which dependeth upon the right of prescribing, and the edification of the Church, intended in the particulars, deserve not to be abandoned for an unjust offence. True it is that a private person that will be charitable must forbear the use of his freedom, which no rule confineth, when he seeth it will be offence to the weak; if he forbear it not, he giveth just offence according to the Apostle. And it is to be thought, that under the countenance and wing of the erroneous and strong, there walk divers of those doubtful and weak to whom respect is to be had according to the Apostle.

* "Many things contained therein are stumbling blocks to the feet of many, such as these, the clogging it with ceremonies."-Smectymnuus, sect. ii. quer. i. p. 12.
"That which makes many refuse to

be present at our Church service is not only the liturgy itself, but the imposing of it upon ministers."-Ib., quer.

ii. p. 13.
"That ill teaching to which he imputes this general distaste, if there be

any such, we for our own parts are innocent: our care for our part hath been to inform our people that such stumbling blocks as these are not sufficient cause of separation. But we think, nay we know, that some few prelates, by their over rigorous pressing of the service book and ceremonies, made more separatists than all the preachers disaffected to the ceremonies in England."—Vindication of the Answer, p. 38.

CHAP. The obligation of rules whereby they are determined.

§ 22. But if the question thereupon be made, whether it be expedient for the Church to order such things as shall 315 seem to advantage the form, the order, the rites of Divine Service, - whether it be expedient for those whom it concerneth to observe and exact the same, in case there may be doubtful consciences that may take offence? the answer will be yes, even according to the Apostle: because otherwise the public order which he recommendeth can by no means be preserved in the Church, since it is not possible so to order things of this nature as to leave no possible doubt in any conscience. Might not those of the Gentiles whom the Apostles enjoined to forbear things dying in their blood and offered to idols, have taken offence because they were confined in the just use of their freedom? Or the Corinthians, that St. Paul suffered not their women to sit with bare faces at public service? as the virgins of Tertullian's time professed themselves scandalized at those of their rank that practised ity. Suppose the Church cannot say as the Apostles, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to usz:" St. Paul in the other case proceedeth upon no other reasons than such as the Church must now use in like cases. And I suppose the precedent inspired by the Holy Ghost authorizeth the Church to proceed in like matters, though not pretending immediate inspirations.

[The Constitutions of the above the

§ 23. Last of all, who can doubt, but among the erroneous of them that did judaize under the Apostles, there were also 316 [divers] of the doubtful and weak led away with their pretences? scruples of And yet we see the Apostle "forbeareth them not a moment" in respect to the weak. All this containing no more inconvenience than this, that whereas all men are bound to endeavour themselves to satisfy and overcome such doubts of their conscience, the Apostle's opposition redoubleth a new obligation to do it, lest they offend this ministry if they do it not. So doth the constitution of the Church add a new obligation of resolving doubtful consciences, for fear of offending the public order which it settleth. And in all this I suppose there is no just offence. For as there is always means in the Church with satisfaction to overcome doubts of consciences.

Velandis, cap. iii. p. 310. ed. Pam. Rothom, 1662. 2 Acts xv. 28.

y Scandalizamur, inquiunt, quia aliter aliæ incedunt: et malunt scandalizari, quam provocari.-De Virginibus

so is there no means to procure that there shall be no doubts CHAP. of conscience in the Church so long as there are imperfect Christians in it. But he whom it concerneth to observe or exact public order must not give just offence to public order and all that go by it, by neglecting it for fear of giving unjust offence to private persons by observing or exacting it.

CHAPTER X.

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WHAT IS TO BE CONSIDERED TOUCHING OUR SERVICE. THE SERVICE OF HEARERS AND BELIEVERS. CONFESSION OF SINS WHETHER OF OLD THE BEGINNING OF SERVICE. THE ANCIENT ORDER OF PSALMS AND LESSONS. THE MASS CONTAINETH AN ABRIDGMENT OF IT. SEVERAL MANNERS OF SINGING PSALMS. PURPOSE OF LESSONS. THE PLACE OF THE SERMON. DISMISSION OF HEARERS. ORIGINAL OF LITANIES. PRAYER INDICTED BY THE DEACON. THE THANKSGIVING FROM WHENCE THE SACRAMENT IS CALLED THE EUCHARIST. PRAYER WHICH IT WAS ALWAYS CELE-BRATED WITH. PRAYER FOR ALL THE CHURCH AT CELEBRATING THE EUCHARIST. THE RESIDUE OF THAT SERVICE. THE CHARGE OF THE MASS ON OUR SERVICE. EXTENT OF THE POWER OF THE KEYS, AND WHEREIN IT CONSISTETH. OF CONFESSION OF SINS AND ABSOLUTION AT THE BEGINNING. OUR ORDER OF PSALMS AND LESSONS. THE SERMON PART OF OUR SERVICE. OF THE CREED AND COLLECTS. OF THE COM-MUNION-SERVICE AND APPURTENANCES OF IT.

Being now to compare the form of service which we use What is to with that of the primitive Church, and to derive both from dered the practice pointed out to us in those particulars which are touching remembered in the Scriptures, I am to profess at the begin-vice. 318 ning that my purpose is not to be extended to the particulars of words or conceptions wherein it is couched: it will be enough to reduce the main substance and order of it to that which we find practised under the Apostles. My business therefore is to describe the most ancient and general form of that solemn service, which was used when the Eucharist was celebrated, not out of the liturgies extant alone, but out of the testimonies of the eldest ecclesiastical writers concurring. For it shall appear that from hence is derived, and herein is contained, first, the order of daily morning and evening service, then the litanies, appointed besides for Lord's days,

CHAP. Wednesdays and Fridays; and last, the celebration of the X. Eucharist, which is all, or almost all that, which this discourse intendeth to comprise.

The service of hearers and believers. § 2. In the first place it is to be known that from the first times of the Church there were always two parts of public service: at the one all persons might be present, though not Christians; till the sermon was done the church-doors were open and free: but when they went to celebrate the Eucharist, then all hearers or catechumeni—that is, those that were willing to be instructed in the faith, but were not as yet admitted to baptism—all that were under penance—all possessed with unclean spirits—were dismissed and shut out; none suffered to be present but those that were admitted to \$19 communicate.

[Distinct in the time of Justin Martyr.]

§ 3. Of these two parts we have sufficient remembrance in Justin Martyr, the most ancient of Church-writers that remain unquestionable. His words are these, Apol. i.a: "Oool αν πεισθώσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν άληθη ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα είναι, καὶ βιούν ούτως δύνασθαι ύπισχνώνται, εύχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ήμων συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς. "As many as are persuaded and believe those things to be true which are taught and said of us, and undertake to be able so to live, are taught to pray and desire of God with fasting, forgiveness of foregoing sins, we also praying and fasting with them." For what prayers were these whereof he speaketh but those which we shall shew afterwards were wont to be made as a part of their service on behalf of the hearers—as also of penitents and persons beset with evil spirits-by themselves and the congregation both, immediately afore their departure? Afterwards b, 'Ημεῖς δὲ, μετὰ τὸ ούτως λούσαι τον πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκατατεθειμένον, ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους άδελφούς άγομεν, ένθα συνηγμένοι είσὶ, κοινάς εύχας ποιησόμενοι, ύπέρ τε έαυτων και του φωτισθέντος, και ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων εὐτόνως. "But we, having thus washed him that is persuaded and agreed, bring him to those that are called brethren, where they are assembled to make common prayers, both for themselves, and for him that is baptized, and all men else every where, earnestly."

^{*} Cap. lxi. p. 71. ed. Ben.

b Ib., cap. lxv. p. 82. ed. Ben.

§ 4. It shall appear in due time that the prayers of the CHAP. Church for all states of persons in the Church followed after the hearers were dismissed, before celebrating the Eucharist, under the Therefore at them only the brethren are present, whereas the Apostles.] hearers were at those which were made for the forgiveness of their sins. That unbelievers were admitted to be present at preaching or expounding the Scriptures in the time of the Apostles it appeareth by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 24, "But if all prophesy and there come in one that believeth not:" that they were excluded at that time as afterwards, when the Eucharist came to be celebrated, I have not the like evidence, but in reason I must needs presume it. Hereupon riseth the difference between these which once were called the first and second service: the ground whereof being taken away in this state of the Church, in which all are baptized infants, and public penance for the greatest part is unknown; nevertheless that service must needs remain the chief part of God's public service which the Eucharist is celebrated with; howsoever it come to pass that the Eucharist is not celebrated at the greatest part of solemn assemblies.

§ 5. This is remembered here upon occasion of that con- Confession fession of sins which our service beginneth with, as also the of sins whether 321 service of almost all reformed Churches, in which it may be of old the beginning counted a general order to begin with confession of sins. of service. Which order Du Plessisc laboureth to derive from the ancient practice of the synagogue first, and consequently of the Church primitive, alleging to that purpose those forms of confession over the sacrifices which Paulus Fagius^d hath produced from the Hebrew doctors upon Lev. xvi. 21, where the law saith, "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in their sins:" together with the words of Liranus upon that place, Sicut facimus in confessione facta in principio missæe: as we

In ipsis Judæorum libris verba tanquam concepta extant, quæ Sacer-dos pronunciare solitus. O Domine peccaverunt, inique egerunt prævaricati sunt coram te populus tuus, Domus Israel, &c. . . . vocabatur autem confessio verbalis. . . . Primi igitur Christi-ani huic officio seu cultui Divino sese accommodarunt,-Mornæi, lib. i. de

Missa et partibus, cap. iii. p. 49. Hanov. 1605.

Thargum, hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia ex Chaldaeo in Latinum fidelissime versa, autore Paulo Fagio, Argentorati, 1546.
* Nicolai de Lyra, Postillæ in Biblia

P. do, saith he, in the confession which is made at the beginning of the Mass, as also the author de Cardinalibus Christi Operibusf, among St. Cyprian's works. Hierarcha pius, quem Spiritus Sanctus compungit, excitat, inhabitat, et sanctificat, [elevatione manuum crucis mysterium repræsentans, confidenter orat pro sua et populi ignorantia, recolens pudibundi et contriti animi confessione, quòd aliquando, prævalente adversum se peccato, fuerit derelictus. "The pious Bishop, whom the Holy Ghost pricketh, stirreth, inhabiteth, and sanctifieth, [representing the mystery of the cross in the uplifting of his hands,] prayeth confidently, for his own and the people's ignorance, recalling in the confession of a mind ashamed and contrite, that sometime he hath been forsaken, sin prevailing against him."

§ 6. It is manifest indeed that this confession of sins is 322 used in the Breviary, in feriali officio ad primam, as well as at the beginning of the Mass, in these words, Confiteor Deo omnipotenti-the people answering, Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dimissis peccatis tuis, perducat te ad vitam æternam. Which done, the people also make the like confession for their parts, the minister answering the same.

§ 7. And this is the confession of sins which is meant in the words of Liranus, and the author de Cardinalibus Christi Operibus, though it is not probable that it passed in those scandalous terms that follow, in his time. And this, in the rubrics of the Maronites' missalg, as it is printed at Rome, is called absolving the priest by the people. But since sacrifices are no part of the moral service of God, and it hath been declared how confession of sins was used in the temple at that moral serviceh, it seemeth impertinent here to consider that which was done at offering sacrifices.

§ 8. As for the service of the primitive Church, at which unbelievers, and such as only pretended to baptism, with those that were under penance, and the like, were present, this will be a constraining reason to prove that no confession of sins-no prayer for forgiveness was made in common for

dike did not quote them, but marked

[†] In the division de Cœna Domini, p. 43. Oxon. 1682. The author is Arnold, abbot of Bonneval, in the diocese of Chartres: he flourished in the 12th century. The words enclosed in brackcentury. The words enclosed in brack-ets were left out by Du Plessis. Thorn-

the omission.

g Missale Chaldaicum, juxta ritum Ecclesiæ nationis Maronitarum. Romæ, 1594. h Chap. vii. sect. 14.

them and all believers at the beginning of service, because CHAP. 323 of the great distance of their estates and conditions in the Church, and because this was the subject of those prayers which hearers and penitents were dismissed with at the end of the first service, the congregation joining with them, and the Bishop or priest blessing them to that purpose, as must be said afterwards. Therefore in Justin Martyr and Tertullian-where they describe what was done at those solemn assemblies, -in the Constitutions of the Apostles, lib. viii.which seems to be the most ancient form extant,-and in most of the Greek liturgies there is no confession of sins at the beginning. And therefore it may justly seem to have been put there-after that the difference of first and second service came to be observed, rather for fashion's sake, and remembrance of the ancient custom, than for the original reason-when the world was become Christian, and the difference between hearers and the rest abolished.

§ 9. In the beginning of the copy which they give us of the ancient Spanish course, called the Mozarabic' or Mustarabe, there is this rubric-Facta priùs confessione, utì sit in missis Latinis, juxta usum Toletanum antiquum, dicitur introitus eo qui sequitur modo. "Confession first being made, as in Latin masses, according to the ancient use of Toledo, the introit is said in manner following." As if this confession were proper 324 to the Latin service, in opposition to the Greek. Which notwithstanding, in that which is intitled to St. James, he that celebrateth maketh confession of his sins, praying for pardon, to the purpose that his service in celebrating the Eucharist may be accepted: which originally,-when no mention was made of the Eucharist at the beginning, being kept private from the unbelievers-could not have been.

§ 10. That which is now at the beginning of the Mass by the stuff is discovered to be of later date, being as scandalous a passage as any in all the Mass besides, when he says, Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti, Beatæ Mariæ semper Virgini, Beato Michaeli Archangelo, Beato Joanni Baptistæ, Sanctis Apostolis Petro et Paulo, Omnibus Sanctis et vobis Fratres, quia peccavi nimis, cogitatione, verbo, et opere. This is not to say that

i Missa Mozarabica, în festo S. Jatom. xxvii. p. 667. Lugdun. 1677. cobi Officium, în Bibliothec, Patrum,

CHAP. confession of sins is not fit for the beginning of service-I mean nothing less, as shall be said afterwards-but that it is not derived from the general and original form of public service in the Church, for reasons proper to that time. The example of St. Basil's monks and their morning service, described by him Ep. lxiii.k, seemeth more pertinent to be made the precedent of ours. His words are these: Ἐκ νυκτὸς γάρ όρθρίζει παρ' ήμεν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οίκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνφ, καὶ θλίψει, καὶ συνοχή δακρύων έξομολογούμενοι τώ Θεώ, τελευταίον έξαναστάντες των προσευχών, είς την ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται. "For the people with us riseth betimes 3: after night to the house of prayer, and making confession to God with pains, and tribulation, and distress of tears, at length rising from prayer fall to singing psalms." For here he speaketh of confession at morning service. As also that confession of sins which we spake of in the Breviary, howsoever scandalous for the stuff, seemeth to have been used to the same purpose with ours and that of other reformed Churches, for a preparation and entrance to morning service.

The ancient orde of psalms and lessons,

§ 11. Now because it hath been shewed afore1 that this solemn service of God consisted of psalms of God's praisesof reading the Scripture and expounding it-of common prayers, and the celebration of the Eucharist-that which remaineth here to be declared is this, in what form and order these materials were practised according to the eldest and most general custom of the Church which we shall be able to discern. The order of reading the Scriptures is this, according to the Constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 57, having reckoned the Scriptures of the Old Testament to be read in Churches: 'Ανὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἔτερός τις τούς τοῦ Δαβίδ ψαλλέτω ύμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ύποψαλλέτω μετά τοῦτο αί Πράξεις αι ἡμέτεραι ἀναγινωσκέσθωσαν. καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου τοῦ συνεργοῦ ἡμῶν, ὰς ἐπέστειλε ταις έκκλησίαις, καθ υφήγησιν του άγίου Πνεύματος, καλ μετά ταῦτα διάκονος ή πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια. "And two lessons being read" out of the Old Testament, 32 "let some other sing the Psalms of David: and let the people answer the acrostics: after that let our Acts be read: and

k S. Basil, Ep. cevii, § 3. tom. iii. p.

Chap. vi. 311. ed. Ben.

the epistles of Paul our workfellow, which he sent to the CHAP. Churches, by suggestion of the Holy Ghost: and after all this let a deacon or a presbyter read the gospels." The seventeenth canon of Laodicea is, Περί του μη δείν ἐπισυνάπτειν έν ταις συνάξεσι τούς ψαλμούς, άλλα δια μέσου καθ έκαστον ψαλμον γίνεσθαι ανάγνωσιν. "That the psalms should not be continued in assemblies, but a lesson to be interposed in the midst, after every psalm." This is ordered, saith Balsamon", to take off the weariness of the people at these offices by this mixture.

§ 12. He that calls himself Dionysius the Areopagite. Eccles. Hierar., cap. iii.º, 'Αναλύσας δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον θυσιαστήριον, ἀπάρχεται της ίερας των ψαλμών μελωδίας, συναδούσης αὐτῷ τὴν ψαλμικὴν ἱερολογίαν πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διακοσμήσεως έξης δέ, διὰ τῶν λειτουργῶν, ή τῶν ἀγιογράφων δέλτων ἀνάγνωσις ἀκολούθως γίνεται. "Being returned back to the Divine Altar, he beginneth the holy melody of the psalms, all ranks of the Church singing with him those holy psalms: after, follows in consequence, the reading of the Holy Scriptures by the ministers." In this form which he describes there is no interlacing of psalms and lessons, but the psalms first, and afterwards the reading of the Scriptures. Of the Churches of Africa and their custom we may presume 327 from St. Augustine P. His sermons make divers times mention of a lesson first out of the Prophets, then out of the Epistles and Gospels, with a psalm or psalms between them: and in his sermons he expounds them all sometimes.

m Circa, A.D. 364. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1533. ed. Venet.

o S. Dionys. Opp., tom. i. pp. 283, 284. ed. Corder. Antverp. 1634.

Usum psallendi vel aliquot psalmi versiculos, vel integrum psalmum, inter

Epistolam et Evangelium, multo antiquiorem Gregorio fuisse, saltem in Africa, ex Augustino clare ostenditur. Nam initio Serm. xxxiii. de verbis Domini [Serm. 112. tom. v. col. 564. ed. Ben.] recenset, quid in lectione Apostolica, quid in psalmo, quid in Evangelio lec-tum sit. Et de verbis Apostoli Serm. viii. [Serm. 165. tom. v. col. 796. ed. Ben.] 'Apostolum, audivimus, psalmum audivimus, Evangelium audivimus, consonant omnes divinæ lectiones.'
Et infra, Serm. x. [Serm. 176. tom. v. col. 839.] 'Primam lectionem audivimus Apostoli, deinde cantavimus psalmum post hæc evangelica lec-tio decem leprosos mundatos nobis os-tendit.'—Bona, Rer. Liturgic., lib. ii. cap. vi. § 4. p. 526. Antverp. 1677.

των ψαλμών ἀναγινωσκομένων διὰ μιας υφής κατά παλαιάν παράδοσιν, καί τοῦ συναγομένου λαοῦ ἀποκναίοντος, και κάντεῦθεν ἀκηδιῶντος ἀπό τοῦ κόπου, και έξερχομένου από της έκκλησίας, άρισαν οἱ πατέρες μὴ συναπτῶς ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσιν ἐκφωνεῖσθαι τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀναγνώσεις, ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναπαύεσθαι τὸν λαὸν πρὸς μικρόν, και πάλιν ψάλλειν. διά γάρ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς καθίσματα διάφορα τὸ ἰερὸν κα-τεμερίσθη ψαλτήριον.—Balsam. in Can. xvii. Conc. Laod. apud Beveregii Sy-

CHAP. § 13. In the Mass itself there remains something of this - custom, as brief and short as they have made it. To compare containeth it with the form described afore in part out of the Constituan abridg-ment of it, tions, and for the rest to be described, it is strange to see to what a small model they have reduced it. Whether it were because it was framed for those times and places where morning service was used besides, for which reason they thought good to abridge it, retaining nevertheless the substantial parts of public service: or whether out of a desire of multiplying private masses, it was so made on purpose for speed; or whether so it were always in the Latin Church, and we are to believe those copies which they give us of the Ambrosian service, and that of the Mozarabic or Spanish to be of any great time: indeed the order of lessons said to be composed by St. Hierome9, and of antiphones by St. Gregory, and other forms of the Latin Church, are all very short. This notwithstanding, in the introit" we see the trace of that singing of psalms in the beginning, of which Dionysius [speaks]: and the gradualt, as they call it, which is the shred of a psalm between the Epistle and the Gospel, is in the 328 same place with that psalm between those lessons whereof St. Augustine speaks. In the pattern of the Ambrosian service for Christmas-day, which we have out of the missal of the Church of Milan, there is first a lesson out of the Prophets, a second out of the Epistles, and the last out of the Gospels, with versicles of psalms, or hymns, or antiphones between each".

> 9 Liber Comitis, sive Lectionarius, in Baluzius' Capitularia Regum Francorum, tom. ii. p. 1309, and in Pamelius' Liturgica, tom. ii.

> Liber responsalis sive Antiphonarius, in the 3rd vol. of the Benedictine edition of St. Gregory's works.
>
> Dum Sacerdos ad Altare procedit,

Chorus psallit Antiphonam, quæ ritu Romano Introitus, Ambrosiano Ingressa dicitur, quia nimirum tune canitur cum Sacerdos intrat ad Altare. Ejus insti-tutio ab his qui ecclesiasticos ritus explanaut Celestino Papæ unanimi fere consensu tribui solet,—Bona, Rer. Li-

turgic., lib. ii. cap. iii. § 1. p. 502.

Dum perfecta Epistola præparat se diaconus ad legendum Evangelium, Chorus Responsorium concinit, quod Graduale nuncupatur, non a gradibus

Altaris, ut quidam recentiores scribunt; sed a gradibus ambonis sive pulpiti.— Bona, Rer. Liturgic., lib. ii. cap. vi. §

4. p. 526.

" Diebus vero Dominicis et aliis solemnioribus ante Epistolam legitur Lectio una ex Veteri Testamento cum psalmello, ut vocant, instar Gradualis Romani. Post Epistolam præmissa oratione Munda cor meum, dicit Dominus vobiscum, seque signans in fronte, ore, et pectore, ait, Lectio S. Evangelii, Et dum respondetur Gloria tibi Domine, inclinans versus crucern petit benedictionem, quæ est similis Romanæ, tum legit Evangelium.—Bona, Rer. Liturgic., lib. i. cap. x. § 2. p. 362. See also Martene de Antiq. Eccles. Rit., lib. i. cap. iv. art. 12. tom. 1. p. 173. Venet. 1783.

§ 14. Here, as concerning the psalms in the Church, let CHAP. me have leave to resume that which was proved afore x out of X. Several St. Paul, that the custom was, from the times of the Apostles, manners so to sing them that the whole congregation might bear a psalms. part in the praises of God, which the book of Psalms from time to time inviteth them to do. Accordingly in the pretended Dionysius, the Bishop begins the psalms, but all the ranks proceed to join in the same. But in the Constitutions of the Apostles the people are to answer only the acrostics. What those were I cannot better conjecture than by the words of Philo, de vita Contemplativay, where he relates the fashion of those hymns which the Essenes by Alexandria in Egypt used at their common feasts, which he saith were sung first by the chief, afterwards by the rest in their order, Hávτων κατά πολλήν ήσυχίαν άκροωμένων, πλήν όπότε τὰ άκροτελεύτια καὶ ἐφύμνια ἄδειν δέοι, τότε γὰρ ἐξηχοῦσι πάντες τε καὶ 329 πãσαι. "All hearing with much silence, but when the ends and burdens of the hymns are to be sung, for then all the men and women sing out."

§ 15. Some such thing I suppose it was, which in the Constitutions there is called ἀκροστίχια, or "end-verses" of the psalms, as the Gloria Patri among us, known to the people at those times when for some inconvenience found of indecorum in performing this office, the whole congregation joined no more in the psalms. For though in the custom of those Churches which Dionysius describeth, the people joined in them, at those times whereof he speaketh, and though I doubt not but those Constitutions, and the canons of the council of Laodicea be more ancient than the pretended Dionysiusz, yet by them it appeareth that when the Constitutions direct the people to join in the closes, and when that council ordereth, can. xv.a, that no more than the canonical singers—that is, enrolled in the list of the church -that went up into the desk, and sung out of the parchmine,

Quien endeavours to shew that they are the work of a Monophysite heretic. See his second dissertation, chap. xii., in his edition of S. John Damascenus. The Constitutions of the Apostles are as early as the third century.

* See chap. vii. sect. 29.

^{*} Chap. v. sectt. 18, 19.

Philon. Opp., p. 901. Paris. 1640.
The writings that go under the name of Dionysius are considered to have been written in the fourth century, about the middle of which the council of Laodicea was held. Le THORNDIKE.

CHAP. should sing in the church, there was by that time, and in those places of the Church, inconvenience found in the congregations joining in it, for which cause it was referred to the church singers.

§ 16. Another course there was much used in divers parts of the Church, of singing the psalms by antiphones: of which it shall not be requisite here to repeat what is delivered of the first use of it, in the East under Ignatius b—the 330 coming of it into the West under St. Ambrose c—the relation of St. Basil, and the practice of his monks, Epist. lxiii. d—the order of Pope Celestine for the psalms to be sung before the Eucharist by way of antiphones: it shall suffice to take notice here, that this was one of the ways that were put in use, to the purpose that the congregation might join in the praises of God with most comeliness, according to the custom of the Apostles' time.

Purpose of lessons.

observed here, that the ancient and primitive order of the Church seemeth to have intended them so large, that by hearing them read in the church, they might become familiar even to the unlearned of the people, as Josephus said afore that the Jews, by hearing Moses read in the synagogues, became as perfect in their laws as a man is in telling his own name, whereas among other nations, the simple never attain to know their own laws. For you see how many lessons are directed to be read in the Constitu-

b Hanc igitur consuetudinem alternatim psallendi habet ab antiquissimis seculis orthodoxa Ecclesia, ab Ignatio nimirum, qui post Euodium Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ Antistes pontificatus gratiam, ut ait Theodoretus lib. i. hæreticarum fabularum, per magni Petri dexteram accepit. Hic in excessu mentis suæ vidit Angelos alternis hymnis sanctissimam Trinitatem collaudantes, unde psallendi formam in ea visione expressam Ecclesiæ tradidit Antiochenæ, quæ deinde in varias Ecclesias piorum Episcoporum studio insinuata ab omnibus demum Catholicis recepta est.—Bona, Diviu. Psalmod. cap. xvi. § x. 1. p. 841.

cap. xvi. § x. 1. p. 841.

^c Sane in Latina et Occidentali Ecclesia, quotquot scribunt de sacris ritibus, beatum aiunt Ambrosium Mediolanensem Episcopum primum fuisse,

qui Græcorum imitatus exemplum hunc canendi modum per antiphonas tradiderit, quem postea Damasus P. pontificali auctoritate confirmarit.—1b. He then proceeds to cite out of St. Augustine's Confessions, book ix. chapp. 6. and 7, the account of St. Ambrose watching with the people in church, when Justina persecuted the orthodox.

d Quoted in sect. 10.

Celestinus constituit ut Psalmi David 150 ante sacrificium psallerentur, antiphonatim ex omnibus, quod antea non fiebat, sed tantum epistolæ beati Pauli recitabant, et sanctum evangelium.—Vita Celestini apud Labbei, tom. iii. col. 467. ed. Venet.

Chap. iii. sect. 1.

tions of the Apostles, two out of the Old Testament, out of CHAP. the Acts, out of the Epistles, out of the Gospels. Last of all, accordingly he reckoneth in particular the books of the Old Testament to be read in the Church; as doth also the said 331 council of Laodiceah, in the last canon, upon this occasion repeat the list of Holy Scriptures to be read in the Church: and Dionysius expounding the order of the Church described by him afore, reckoneth the subject of all the particular books in the Scriptures, which he saith are read after the psalms, to enlarge with more ample declarations and examples those things which in the psalms are but darkly and in brief pointed ati.

§ 18. All which, I suppose, intimates a great deal more [Long orithan those short lessons picked out of some parts of the ginally.] Scriptures, as well for the Roman missal, as other liturgies extant. In that which is intitled to St. Jamesk, there is a remarkable rubric after the angelical hymn, and the prayer that follows it, which says thus: Είτα ἀναγινώσκεται διεξοδικώτατα τὰ ἱερὰ λόγια τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, καὶ τῶν προφητών, καὶ ἀποδείκνυται ή τοῦ υίοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνανθρώπησις. "After is read very largely the holy oracles of the Old Testament, and the prophets, and the incarnation of the Son of God is declared"-that is, the gospels are read. For hereby he gives us suspicion enough to presume that the reading of the Scriptures was wont to be larger at the first than afterwards it became, when in the declining and degenerating times of the Church, the increase of sensible ceremonies and observances began to crowd out the substantial parts of the reasonable service of God.

§ 19. For so there is cause to conceive by that of the ser- The place mon, whereof it follows immediately there, Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀνα- sermon. γνώναι καὶ διδάξαι, λέγει ὁ διάκονος, that is, "After the lessons are read, and the sermon is done." For in Justin Martyr's1 description of the service in his time, after the

^b Labbei, tom. i. coll. 1540, 1541.

ed. Venet.

1 Τὰ συντετμημένα καὶ συνεσκιασμένα

1 Τὰ συντετμημένα καὶ συνεσκιασμένα μάλλον έν τῆ νοερά τῶν ψαλμῶν Ιερο-λογία, διὰ πλειόνων καὶ σαφεστέρων εἰκόνων καὶ ἀναβρήσεων εὐρυνεται, ταῖς Ιερωτάταις τῶν ἀγιογράφων συντάξεων ἀναγνώσεσιν.—S. Dionys, de Feeles,

Hierarch., cap. iii. § 5. p. 288. Antverp.

k Liturg. S. Patrum, p. 8. Paris. 1560. Bibliothec. Patr., tom. ii. p. 4.

Paris. 1624.

¹ See chap. vi. sect. 10, and Prim. Govern., chap. vii. sect. 4.

CHAP. reading of the Scriptures, follows immediately the sermon to expound them, and to exhort the people to follow the doctrine. Tertullian m speaketh not of the order or place which the sermon had in the service, but remembereth it as a principal part of it. In the Constitutions of the Apostles the place was produced aforen, wherein mention is made, after the reading of the Scriptures, of the presbyters speaking to the people one after another, and the Bishop after them, according to the custom derived from the Apostles' time. The nineteenth canon of Laodicea is, Περί τοῦ δεῖν ίδία πρῶτον μετά τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, "That after the sermons of the Bishops, first the prayer for the hearers must be made apart."

[The epi-stle was read begospel.]

§ 20. In fine, it is manifest by the order of all liturgies extant-in which is described the order of the solemn service of the Church, that is, when the Eucharist was celebratedfirst, that of all lessons of the Scriptures, those out of the gospels were read in the last place, as it is expressed in St. Augustine alleged before, in the Constitutions of the Apostles, and in divers others, that might be produced were 333 it questionableq: then that after the reading of the gospel. followed the sermon for the exposition of it, or some other

m See chap. vi. sect. 1.

" Chap. v. sect. 36.

Labbei, tom. i. col 1534. ed.

P See note p, sect. 34.

P See note p, sect. 34.

q This order seems to have been disagreeable to the Puritans. In a pamphlet by R. B. K., i. e. Robert Baillie, published in London, 1641, with this title, A Parallel or Briefe Comparison of the Liturgie with the Masse Book, the Breviarie, the Ceremoniall, and other Romish Ritualls, we moniall, and other Romish Ritualls, we read, chap. iii. p. 19, "The second part of the mass.... is subdivided into eight portions.... the first is the epistle, the putting of this piece in the mass is ascribed to Pope Alexander and Damasus.... but whoever have put the epistle in the mass, it seems incredible that the abuses of the epistle which this day are in the mass. epistle, which this day are in the mass, and in our book from it, can have any very ancient or very judicious author. Why against the order of the New Testament are the epistles set before the gospel, the reason which the Rationalists give, is that the epistles are baser than the gospel. Alcuin indeed denies this, but Walafridus and the rest after him avow it." The words of Walafridus are as follows, and do not admit of the construction put upon them by this writer; Anteponitur autem in ordine quod inferius est in dignitate, ut ex minoribus animus audientium ad majora sentienda proficiat, et gradatim ab imis ad summa conscendat.—De Rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap. xxii. Alcuin's words are these: Lectio Apostolica ante evangelium, non causa dignitatis, sed ad morem Apostolorum, qui ante Dominum ibant, sicut narrat evange-lium quos mittebat Dominus ante se binos et binos. Epistola autem dicitur supermissa, eo quod super vetus Testamentum et evangelium missa sit, non causa dignitatis sed ut quisque qui evangelium fuerit ingressus ibi inveniat medicinam salutis .- Lib. de divin, Off., cap. de celebrat. Miss.

of the lessons. And yet in Dionysius there is no mention CHAP. at all of the sermon, either in the description he makes of the service, or in the exposition wherein he renders a reason of it, but immediately after the reading of the gospel, the last in order of the New Testament, the hearers and penitent and the like are dismissed, and then follows the creed. Which to me is an argument of the author's time, and that when he wrote, the sermon in some places began to be disused, and also because he mentions the creed in the order of public service, of which in Justin, Tertullian, the Constitutions of the Apostles, the canons of Laodicea, wherein almost all the particulars of public service are ordered, in fine, whereof in the most ancient descriptions of the service, there is no remembrance.

§ 21. It appeared afore by the words of St. Ambroses, and so it doth by Dionysius, that it was pronounced from the beginning of the use of it, by the whole congregation: for the first expounded the words of the Apostle, "Every woman praying or prophesying," of saying or singing the creed; and the second saith thust, προομολογηθείσης ύπὸ παντός του της Έκκλησίας πληρώματος της καθολικής υμνολο-334 ylas. "The Catholic hymn being acknowledged before by all the congregation of the church." This then the order of that former part of public service which from the beginning the hearers and penitents were to be present at, to learn the doctrine of the Church, and to profit in it, so as to be thought fit for baptism and for the communion of the Eucharist. For the Latin Mass, as well as other liturgies extant-though reduced to so small a model as was observed, by the shortness of the psalms and lessons, and leaving out the sermon, always principal ingredients of it-representeth nevertheless the order and course of that solemn service which the Eucharist was celebrated with.

§ 22. This difference of the first and second service in the Dismisliturgies extant, is rather retained for fashion's sake, and in sion of hearers.

άξιοι.-De Eccles. Hierarch., cap. iii. p. 284.

After the words recited in sect, 12, it follows thus: Καὶ μετὰ ταύτας, ἔξω η το τουν ται τής Ιεράς περιοχής οΙ κατη-χούμενοι, και πρὸς αὐτοῖς οΙ ἐνεργούμε-νοι, και οΙ ἐν μετανοία ὅντες, μένουσι δὲ οἱ τῆς τῶν θειῶν ἐποψίας και κοινωνίας

^{*} See chap. v. sect. 18.

1 In the place cited in note r of the preceding section.

CHAP, remembrance of the ancient order, than according to the original purpose of it: for it shall appear that some part of the prayers which at the first were for believers alone, and such as communicated, not to come till the hearers and penitents were gone forth, in all the Greek and Eastern liturgies are now put into the first part of the service. But the end of the first service, and the beginning of that which only believers were present at, is manifest enough in it-as it is in downright terms expressed in all the Greek and Eastern liturgies when the hearers were to go forth-not 335 in the place where Durandus would have it, iv. 1", after the offering; but as it is in the Constitutions of the Apostles, in the nineteenth canon of Laodicea, in Dionysius, in others, after the prayers for the hearers and penitents, which followed as soon as the sermon was done, immediately before the creed. Howsoever, from hence it appeareth, that the lessons of the epistles and gospels are originally belonging to the former part of this service. The nineteenth canon of Laodicea*, of these prayers for the hearers and penitents, speaketh thus: Περί του δείν ίδία πρώτον μετά τὰς όμιλίας των ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τους κατηχουμένους, των εν μετανοία την εύχην γίνεσθαι, καί τούτων προσελθόντων ύπο χείρα, καὶ ύποχωρησάντων, ούτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς, "That first after the sermons of the Bishops, the prayer be made for the hearers, and after the hearers are departed, the prayer for the penitents be made, and when they are come under hand and departed, that then the prayers of the believers be made [three in number."

[Of the prayers of dismission.] § 23. The subject and fashion of these prayers both, are very plainly described in the Constitutions of the Apostles, to have been this: 'Αναστάντων ἀπάντων ὁ διάκονος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἀνελθὼν κηρυττέτω, μήτις τῶν ἀκροωμένων, μήτις τῶν ἀπίστων, καὶ ἡσυχίας γενομένης λεγέτω· εὕξασθε οἱ κατηχούμενοι, καὶ

usque ad post communionem, et dicitur missa illa a dimittendo, quia ea expleta ad propria quisque fidelis dimittitur. —Durand. Rational., lib. iv. cap. i. §§. 45. 48. fol. 61. Venet. 1619.

x Labbei, tom. i, col. 1533. ed. Venet.

[&]quot; Missæ autem officium in duas principaliter dividitur partes, videlicet in missam catechumenorum et missam fidelium. Missa catechumenorum est ab introitu usque post offertorium, quæ missa ab emittendo dicitur........ Missa vero fidelium est ab offertorio

πάντες οἱ πιστοὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προσευχέσθωσαν, СΗΑΡ. λέγοντες, Κύριε έλέησον, διακονείτω δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, λέγων, ὑπὲρ

336 των κατηγουμένων πάντες του Θεον παρακαλέσωμεν, ίνα-viii. 5, 6.y "All rising up, let the deacon get up on some high place, and pronounce, 'None of the hearers, none of the unbelievers,' and silence being made, let him say, 'Pray ye hearers.' And let all the believers pray for them in their mind, saying, 'Lord, have mercy:' and let him minister for them, saying, 'Let us all beseech the Lord for the hearers, that"-έφ' έκάστω δὲ τούτων ων ὁ διάκονος προσφωνεί, ως προείπομεν, λεγέτω ὁ λαὸς, Κύριε ελέησον. "And at every of these particulars which the deacon speaks to them of, let the people say, 'Lord, have mercy.'" The particulars whereof he speaks are there at large, that God would hear them, that He would enlighten them, and make them wise, that He would teach them the knowledge of God, and the rest: of these the deacon speaks to the people, when he bids them pray that God would do so and so for them; which kind of prayers, ministered by the deacon, as he said afore, are called therefore προσφωνήσεις, or "allocutions":" and the people answer at every point-as at litanies, the people still have their answer, called sometime the suffrage-"Lord, have mercy." And this is the reason that was used to prove that the form of these prayers was prescript, because it was ministered by deaconsa.

§ 24. Afterwards it follows, κλινόντων δε αὐτῶν τὰς κεφα-337 λάς, εὐλογείτω αὐτοὺς ὁ χειροτονηθείς ἐπισκόπος, εὐλογίαν τοίaνδε, "They bending down their heads, let the Bishop ordained"-for the service which is here described is at the ordination of a Bishop,-"bless them," saying as it follows there. In the same manner was prayer made for the beset with unclean spirits, and for the penitents, but that in these the canon of Laodicea expresseth that they were to come and kneel, the Bishop holding his hands over their heads, and so pronouncing the like prayer of blessing over them; which is therefore there called προσελθείν ύπο χείρα, "to come

read, 'Η θεία λειτουργία, έν ή προσφώ-

J. Labbei, tom. i. col. 464. ed. Ve νησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων.
 et. * Chap. vii. sect. 33; chap. v. sect. net.
In the heading of the chapter we 22.

CHAP. under hand," and from whence, in this condition, they are called ὑποπύπτοντες^b, "those that fall under," to wit, the Bishop's hands. These forms are here described, both to declare the ancient practice, and also for a help toward the understanding of that which follows.

[Of the prayers that followed the dismission of the hearers.]

§ 25. After the departure of the hearers and penitents, there followed principally two sorts of prayers, as may be gathered from the words of Justin in his first Apology', where that most ancient martyr, that flourished some thirty or forty years after St. John's death, that is, after the age of the Apostles, relates the course of public service at the assemblies of Christians. After the sermon, he thus describes what followed: "Επειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινή πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν, καὶ ώς προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ήμων της εὐχης, άρτος προσφέρεται, καὶ οἶνος, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεστώς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐγαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῶ ἀναπέμπει, " After, we all rise 338 and send forth prayers, and, as we said afore, when we have done praying, bread and wine and water are offered; and the ruler likewise sendeth forth prayers and thanksgivings with all his might," Here you have the prayers of the whole congregation in the first place, which therefore are called in the words related in the beginning of this chapterd, kowal εὐχαὶ, "common prayers," or prayers of the whole congregation, to distinguish them from those prayers and thanksgivings which he saith were made afterwards, for consecrating of the Eucharist by the Bishop or presbyter alone, though in behalf of the people. Where, by the way, you may see further that Justin means by those words, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, to express nothing but that earnest devotion which those prayers were offered with, by that which he addeth,

h "Οσοι πριν εἰκοσαετεῖς γενέσθαι, ημαρτον, πέντε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ὑποπεσόντες, κοινωνίας τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς εἰς τὰς προσευχάς..... Ἐξεταζέσθω δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ ἐν τῆ ὑποπτώσει βίος, καὶ οὕτως τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας.—Concil. Ancyran. A.D. 314. can. xvi. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1492. ed. Venet. In tertio gradu [pœnitentium] erant Substrati manentes intra ambitum Ecclesiæ usque ad ambonem, ultra quem progredi nefas illis erat. Hi jejuniis, precibus, humi cubationibus, alisque operibus laboriosis affligebantur, atque in singulis Synaxibus preces su-

per illos in genua procumbentes cum manuum impositione fundebantur, idque per longum tempus, et interdum per plures annos; atque interim in corum mores diligens inquisitio flebat, an vere contriti essent, an sincera corum conversio. Bona, Rer. Liturgic., lib. i. cap. xvii. § 3. p. 399. Antverp. 1677. See a full account of this order of penitents, who are the penitents properly so called, in Morinus, de Administ. Sacram. Pænitent., lib. vi. cap. 6. p. 369. Bruxell. 1685.

Cap. lxvii. p. 83. ed. Ben.

d Sect. 3.

ομοίως, or "likewise:" for having said in the words alleged CHAP. afore that the congregation made the former sort, which he calleth their common prayers, εὐτόνως, or "vehemently," he addeth, that the Bishop made the thanksgiving which the Eucharist was consecrated with, ὁμοίως ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, "in like sort with all his might:" with the like earnest devotion which the other were made with.

§ 26. The most ancient description that we have next to [Described this, of the form of this solemn service, seems to be that constituwhich is found in the Constitutions of the Apostles. For by tionsofthe 339 many things we may find that that book meant to express the customs of the Church in the times afore Constantine. You may have observed before, how it forbiddeth the faithful to plead before the powers of this world, that is, before heathen magistratesf. And that course of dividing portions at their feasts of love, which is there prescribed, was afore g observed to be abolished by the council of Laodicea, which was before Constantineh. And in the form of prayer for all states of the Church after the consecration—whereof afterwards—set down there viii. 12, it is to be observed that prayer is made for the emperor and powers of the world, ίνα είρηνεύωνται τὰ πρὸς ήμας, "that they may keep peace with us," that is, not persecute the Church.

§ 27. In this work then, lib. viii. cap. 10, 11, is described at [of the large, first, the prayer for the whole state of the Church, and for the the particular members and conditions of it, and after that, whole escap. 12, the prayer of thanksgiving which the Eucharist was Church.] consecrated with. And to shew evident distinction of these two parts of the service, the kiss of peace comes between both, which being a received custom from the time of the Apostles, gives cause to presume that the prayers between which it is interposed, are no less derived from the primi-340 tive practice of the Apostles' time; though true it is, that according to the custom of the Western Churches, it followed after the consecration of the Eucharist, before the receiving of it1. There follows besides in the same

Sect. 3.

See chap. iv. sect. 16.

h Thorndike is deceived in suppos-ing that the council of Laodicea was

before Constantine. Constantine died in A.D. 337, while the earliest date assignable to the council is A.D. 342.

Ante communionem tres orationes Romano ritu præmitti solent

Place, a new admonition of the deacon to all that had not right to communicate, to depart before the celebration of the Eucharist, among the rest οἱ τὴν πρώτην εὐχὴν εὐχόμενοι πρόελθετε, "you that pray the first prayer, depart." Which I take to be this, that such of the believers as were present indeed at the prayers of the congregation for all states of the Church, but did not intend to communicate, should also depart: to shew the difference of those two prayers whereof we now speak, the subject whereof deserves to be further declared, out of the most ancient of ecclesiastical writers.

§ 28. Justin Martyr^J, after the words alleged in the beginning of this chapter, thus describeth the prayers of the faithful, to which he saith the new-baptized were brought: "Οπως καταξιωθώμεν, τὰ ἀληθῆ μαθόντες καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀγαθοὶ πολιτευταὶ, καὶ ψύλακες τῶν ἐντεταλμένων εὐρεθῆναι, ὅπως τὴν αἰώνιον σωτηρίαν σωθώμεν. "That we may be thought meet, having learned the truth, to be also found good livers in works, and keepers of things commanded, so as to be everlastingly saved." He specifieth the chief point of those prayers, for otherwise you shall find in the words afore quoted that they prayed in them for themselves, for the new 341 baptized, and for all men else, every where.

§ 29. Tertullian, Apolog., cap. xxxix., where he describes what was done at their assemblies. Coimus in cœtum et congregationem, ut ad Deum quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus orantes. Hæc vis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. "We meet and assemble in a congregation, that making as it were a strength against God, we may sue to Him in our prayers. This violence is welcome to God. We pray also for emperors and their ministers and powers, for the state of the world, for the

prima est, qua sacerdos pacem precatur Ecclesiæ, post quam sequitur osculum pacis et Romani quidem atque Ambrosiani hoc loco, Græci vero et alii Orientales, itemque Mozarabes ante præfationem dant osculum pacis, diverso ritu, sed eadem fide et religione In liturgia Jacobi, post symboli recitationem porrigitur osculum, præmonente diacono, Osculemur nos in osculo saueto. In liturgia Chrysostomi ante symbolum ait diaconus, Diligamus

nos invicem, ut in concordia confiteamur Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum. Apud Maronitas sacerdos ante præfationem dat pacem Altari et mysteriis dicens: Pax tecum Altare Dei, et pax mysteriis sanctis positis super te.—Bona, Rer. Liturgie., lib. ii. cap. xvi. § 6. p. 584. Antverp. 1677.

p. 584. Antverp. 1677.

J. S. Justin. Apol. i. cap. lxv. p. 82. ed. Ben.

* Sect. 3.

peaceable condition of affairs, for the delay of the end." The CHAP. particulars of the prayers they made for the emperors are enlarged, cap. xxx., upon the occasion of comparing the devotions of Christians and pagans. Vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcunque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt. "Wishing them long life, secure rule, the court safe, the armies valiant, the senate faithful, the people good, the world quiet, whatsoever a man and Cæsar may desire."

§ 30. Tertullian, as Cassander observed before, intended not to declare to the heathen the manner of celebrating the Eucharist, as the custom was to keep it private, lest it might 342 incur the scorn of those that understood not what it meant: those which Justin calls the common prayers of the congregation, which went next afore it, are here described by those passages that deserved most favour at the world's hands. In the nineteenth canon of Laodicea, after the departure of the hearers and penitents, Τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν πιστῶν γίνεσθαι τρεῖς, μίαν μέν την πρώτην, διά σιωπής, την δε δευτέραν και τρίτην, διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῦσθαι είθ οὕτως την εἰρηνην δίδοσθαι καὶ οὕτω τὴν άγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. "That the prayers of the faithful be made, in number three, one, that is the first, in silence; the second and third to be accomplished by allocution: and so then the peace to be given," that is, the kiss of peace, "and so the holy offering to be made." What the purpose of that prayer might be, which here in the first place is prescribed to be made by all the people in silence, I find not elsewhere.

§ 31. As for those which follow, to be made διὰ προσφωνήσεως, or "by way of speaking to the people," the matter is plain out of that which was declared afore concerning the form of the prayers for the hearers and penitents, in which the deacons spake to the people, from point to point directing them what to desire of God on their behalf, the people answering to every point, "Lord, have mercy;" which prayers were therefore called προσφωνήσεως, or "allocutions," in the Constitutions of the Apostles. In like sort were these

Chap, viii. sect. 42.

[&]quot; See note z, sect. 23.

CHAP. prayers for all states of the Church directed by the deacon, 343 speaking to the people, in the particulars expressed in the said Constitutions, viii. 10°, "Let us pray for the peace and firm state of the world, that it may please God-For the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, that it may please God-For the diocese for all Bishops, that God would give-For the deacons and inferior ministers, for the married and continent for those that give alms and oblations, that God would-For the sick and imprisoned, for travellers by land and sea," and the rest.

Original

§ 32. In fine, whosoever shall take notice of the particulars of litanies. there related, shall perceive a very ancient, if not the original, pattern and use of those prayers, which have since been called litanies or supplications. I speak not now of the use of them in processions, for diverting the wrath of God in public calamities and the like occasions, or of what was put in practice therein by Claudianus Mamertus, Gregory the Great, and others p. I speak of the original and universal use of them in that solemn service of the Church which the Eucharist was celebrated with: for in all liturgies extant-which, though they be not so ancient as the titles of them pretend, nevertheless retain the traces of ancient forms in all parts-it is easily to be perceived-both by the form of those prayers which are ministered by the deacon, the people answering, 344 and also by the subject of them concerning all estates of the Church, and the prosperous condition of it-that they are

P Cum dicant institutas a Sancto Gregorio, sic intelligas, non ut ipsas majores litanias Sanctus Gregorius primus invenerit, sed quod ad Sanctum Petrum eas indixit A quo autem litaniæ primum fuerint institutæ, adhuc mihi est inexploratum; vetustissimum sane morem fuisse in Ecclesia litanias peragere, certissimum est Porro percelebres et ab universa pœne Ecclesia receptæ sunt illæ, quas S. Mamertus Episcopus Vien-nensis restituit in Galliis, temporibus Valentiniani iii. Imperatoris anno circiter 452 apparet S. Mamertum Episcopum non tam instituisse quam restituisse et in meliorem formam reduxisse sacras Rogationes.—Baron. in Martyrol. Rom. Apr. 25. pp. 174, 175. Antverp. 1613.

ο Υπέρ της είρηνης και της εύσταθείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκκλη-σιῶν δεηθῶμεν ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγιάς καθολικὴς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκ-ύπερ των τὰς θυσίας και τὰς ἀπαρχὰς προσφερόντων ὑπερ των ἐν ἀρρω-ρίου δεηθώμεν. — Labbei, tom. i. col. 470. ed. Venet.

nothing else but those common prayers whereof Justin CHAP. Martyr of so ancient time speaketh, according to the forms practised at several times and in several places. True it is that in those ancient liturgies they come not after the departure of the hearers, as in Justin, and the canon of Laodicea, and the Constitutions of the Apostles. But when the departure of the hearers was retained in a manner for fashion's sake, in remembrance of the ancient custom-the reason of it being ceased when the world was become Christian-it is reasonable to think that the order of the service depending upon it might change, the substance nevertheless remaining, as descending originally from the Apostles.

§ 33. And though it be not easy for me to give account why the canon of Laodicea prescribeth two of these prayers to be made, dividing it into two, or repeating it twice, yet it is easy for any man to observe, especially in the liturgies intitled to St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, that these prayers are divers times repeated, whether in brief or at large; that fashion so far complying with the prescript of the canon as to shew us that those are the prayers whereof it speaketh. 345 The subject of them is thus comprised in another place of the Constitutions, ii. 57: Προσευχέσθω ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας άπάσης, καὶ παντός τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῶ μερών, καὶ ἐκφοριών, ὑπὲρ τών ἱερέων καὶ τών ἀρχόντων, ὑπὲρ του άρχιερέως, και του βασιλέως, και της καθόλου ειρήνης, "Let the deacon pray for the whole Church, and all the world, and the parts of it, for fruitful seasons, for the priests and rulers, for the Bishop and King, and the general peace." This is the reason that it is called in the Greek liturgies, tà είρηνικά⁹, or "prayers for peace," because the beginning of it is in the Constitutions of the Apostles', ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ εὐσταθείας τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, that is, "for the peaceable and quiet state of the whole world." It is also in some of them called συναπτή καθολική, or "the general collect." From whence it appeareth that this is the prayer whereof Tertullian speaketh, the subject whereof he expresseth, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete: "for the settled and quiet state of the world."

⁹ See the liturgy of St. Chrysostom.
Lib. viii. cap. 10.

^{*} As in the liturgy of St. James,

CHAP. § 34. That which hath been said of the manner and order of this prayer is to be understood of the liturgies of the Eastern Churches now extant. Not only in those Greek ones under the names of St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, but in the Ethiopic, in that of the Christians of St. Thomas in India, in that of the Maronites printed at Rome, it taketh place according to the manner described. Of the service of the Latin Church the like cannot be said. The 346 litanies, whereof this prayer is the source, are used upon several particular occasions in the Mass as it is now, but have no place in the ordinary course of it, unless we suppose the Kyrie eleëson, which the Rationalists call the litaniest, to be that which remains of them, the model of the Latin service being so abridged as was observed afore. And by St. Ambrose u, or whosoever wrote those books de Sacramentis, it appeareth that prayer was made to that effect before the consecration of the Eucharist: his words are, iv. 4, Oratio præmittitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris: "Prayer is premised," saith he, to the consecration of the Eucharist, "for the people, for the emperors, for the rest." But in those words he speaketh of prayers that were made at the Lord's board by him that celebrated the Eucharist, of which afterwards: not of those that were ministered by the deacon speaking to the people in the manner aforesaid: which nevertheless St. Augustine of the Latin Church remembereth, when he saith, Epist. cxviii.x, Cum communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur, "when common prayer is indicted by the deacon's voice:" for this is that which Justin Martyr called "common prayer" afore.

> § 35. Rhenanus in Tertull, de Coronay, Et arbitrantur quidem illi missam incepisse, dicente sacerdote, Dominus vobiscum : et mox, Sursum corda. Deinde, Gratias agamus Domino Deo 347

t Usu tamen receptum est, ut pro certa quadam ecclesiasticæ supplicationis specie, qua Dei misericordiam, Sanctorumque patrocinium invocamus litaniæ nomen usurpetur. Accipitur etiam quandoque pro solo Kyrie eley-son, tum in Græcis Sanctorum Jacobi Basilii et Chrysostomi liturgiis tum a D. Benedicto in regula.—Bona, Divin. Psalmod., cap. xiv. iii. § 1. p. 796. Antverp. 1677.

^u S. Ambros. Opp., tom. ii. col. 368. ed. Ben. The Benedictine editors consider it to have been written by St. Ambrose. Dupin, however, thinks them deceived.

Ad inquisitiones Januarii, lib. ii. ep. lv. tom. ii. col. 142. ed. Ben.

Beati Rhenani Annot, în lib. de Corona Militis, pp. 40, 41. Franckeræ, ad calc. ed. Pamel

nostro: "And they truly"-that is, those that studied the CHAP. ancient form of service out of the eldest and best Churchwriters-"think that the Mass begins when the priest says, 'The Lord be with you,' and by and by, 'Lift up your hearts,' afterwards, 'Let us give thanks to our Lord God.'" If his meaning be that the celebration of the Eucharist began always with the preface Sursum corda, well and good. But if he mean this, that the second service, or the prayers at which believers alone were present, began then, it is an oversight: the testimonies produced are beyond exception to shew that according to the most ancient custom of the Church, prayer was made for all states of men, and of the Church first, in the manner aforesaid.

§ 36. In fine, the great agreement of all the liturgies speci- Prayer infied, coming from those most ancient Eastern Churches-the deawith the eldest of Church-writers, together with other preg-con. nant circumstances that concur-makes me bold to conclude that the practice of these prayers is derived from the Apostles and the custom of their time, and are the same whereof St. Paul writes, Rom. viii. 26, 27, "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered. And 348 He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, that it maketh intercession for the saints according to God." For according to the exposition of St. Chrysostom, proved good aforez, these prayers, which in the primitive times were made by men endued with prophetic graces,

called here "the Spirit," were afterwards ministered by the deacon, going afore the people: which holds good of these, not only according to all the liturgies and authorities alleged, but according to Justin in chief and in the oldest place, who, when he relates that he, which ministered the Eucharist, began not but with the thanksgiving, after these which he calls the common prayers were ended, gives presumption enough that the said common prayers were ministered by the

deacon with him, as with St. Chrysostom. § 37. Then the terms in which the Apostle expresses the [Called nature of these prayers, calling them "intercessions for the sions.]

a Chap. v. sect. 21, 22.

CHAP. saints," seem to specify the subject whereof we speak, for all states of the Church. And last, when the Apostle saith, "maketh intercession for us with groanings not to be uttered:" and afore, ver. 23, "Ourselves also which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves:" St. Chrysostom testifieth that the correspondent hereof was done by the deacon in his time: with whom agree the words of Justin, κοινάς εύχας ποιησόμενοι εὐτόνως. 349 Wherein he witnesseth the earnest vehemence which these prayers were made with. And in the prayers quoted in the Constitutions of the Apostles for the hearers and penitentsa, which, as hath been shewed, were made after the same sort: ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκτενέστερον δεηθῶμεν, "Let us beseech the Lord for them still more vehemently:" and in that for the faithful, at the end of itb, έγειρώμεθα δεηθέντες έκτενως, "Let us stand up, having vehemently prayed." And to the penitents in the beginning , ευξασθε οἱ ἐν τῆ μετανοία ἐκτενῶς, "Pray ye that are under penance vehemently." And the Kyrie eleëson, or, "Lord, have mercy," the foot and burden of this prayer, as you have seen in the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, is called if externs ineoia, and in that of St. Peterd, ή εὐχή τῆς ἐκτενοῦς, understanding iκεσίας, "the prayer of vehement and earnest supplication to God."

The thanksgivwhence

§ 38. All arguments of that vehemence and earnest devotion which the fashion and manner of the litanies, if it were relished aright, still breatheth, derived from those groans and tears with which men endued with primitive graces made Eucharist then intercession to God for the Church, and states of it. And perhaps the Apostle, when he said, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, "I will pray with the spirit, but I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, but I will sing with the understanding also:" meant no other prayers but those 350 whereof he writes to the Romans, those first sort of prayers whereof here we speak at the service of believers. For in that which follows, ver. 16, "Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the un-

Sacrificium Sancti Apostoli Petri, cum Lindani Apologia. Antverp. 1589. In Bibl. Patr., tom. ii. p. 116. Paris. 1624. Latin versions may be seen in Renaudot, tom. ii. p. 145.

^{*} Lib, viii. cap. vi. col. 465; cap. viii. col. 468; Labbei, tom. i. ed. Venet.

b Ib., col. 472.

Tb., col. 468.

d Missa Apostolica, sive Divinum

learned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he under- CHAP. standeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified:" many things induce me to think that the Apostle speaks of nothing else but of that thanksgiving which from the beginning the Eucharist was consecrated with, and from which it hath the name, and is the next point in the order of this service. For so the Apostle's directions will appear complete, reaching to all parts of the

service which proceed from men's particulars.

§ 39. For the reading of the Scriptures we must here ex- [Prescribed cept, presupposed as the subject and employment of present in subgraces. For the psalms of God's praises, which the Spirit stance by then indicted, he provideth when he saith, "I will sing with stle.] the spirit, but I will sing with the understanding also." For the exposition of the Scriptures more at large, in the rules that follow, from ver. 26. For the prayers which by the suggestion of the Holy Ghost were made for the Church and all states of it, when he saith, "I will pray with the spirit, but I will pray with the understanding also." For the prayers 351 which the Eucharist was celebrated with, in the words now in hand, ver. 16, 17. The Commentaries under St. Ambrose's namee: Hi ex Hebræis erant, qui aliquando Syrû linguâ, plerumque Hebræa in tractatibus aut oblationibus utebantur ad commendationem. Gloriabantur enim se dici Hebræos, propter meritum Abrahæ: "These"-that would needs speak in strange languages in the Church-"were of the Hebrews, which for their commendation used sometimes the Syriac, most an end the Hebrew, in their sermons or oblations. For they took pride to be called Hebrews for the merit of Abraham." The offering is the whole action of prayers and thanksgiving which the Eucharist was celebrated with, as shall appear. So saying in express terms that they did it in Syriac and Hebrew, he directeth us to the Apostle's meaning in that which he calls "blessing and thanksgiving;" which in

§ 40. Otherwise why is it called, 1 Cor. x. 16, "the cup of [Thanksblessing which we bless?" but from that blessing or thanks-means the

S. Ambros. Opp., tom. ii. col. 157, ed. Ben.

the Scriptures and eldest of Church-writers stand sometimes absolutely and without addition to signify, by way of emi-

THORNDIKE.

nence, the celebration of the Eucharist.

CHAP, giving—as it is indifferently called in the Scriptures—with Eucharist which it was instituted by Christ, and appointed to be used in the early afterwards. Ignatius ad Smyrnæost, Έκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ήγείσθω, ή ύπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἡ ῷ ᾶν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψη. "Let that be counted a sound thanksgiving which is under 352 the Bishop, or to whom he gives leave." His meaning is, that to celebrate the Eucharist apart from the Bishop, and without his order, was not effectual toward God. The true Clemens, St. Paul's scholar, Epist. ad Corinth. 8, "Εκαστος ύμων, άδελφοί, εν τῷ ἰδίω τάγματι εὐχαριστείτω Θεῷ. "Let each of you, brethren, give thanks to God in his own rank." He directs the presbyters of Corinth to celebrate the Eucharist by their turns, to avoid contention about it. In the words of Irenæus related in Greek by Epiphanius, Hær. xxxiv.h, of the Marcosians, προσποιούμενος εύχαριστείν, "pretending to give thanks," is as much to say as pretending to celebrate the Eucharist, and so more than once afterwards: therefore when the Apostle saith, "How shall he say Amen," έπὶ τῆ εὐχαριστία σου, and after, οὐ γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς, he seems to mean neither more nor less. For the answer of the people saying Amen at the end of this thanksgiving is so solemnly remarked in ecclesiastical writers, that the Apostle may justly seem to make reference to it. Justin Martyr, Apol. 11, Ού συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πας ὁ παρών λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, ἀμήν εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστώτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, "Who having done his prayers and thanksgiving, all the people present join assent with him, saying Amen. Then the chief having given thanks, and all the people assented with like wishes." And in the epistle of Dionysius 353 of Alexandria in Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. vii. 9, Εὐχαριστίας γάρ ἐπακούσαντα καὶ συνεπιθεγξάμενον τὸ 'Αμήν, "Having heard the thanksgiving"-that is, being present at consecrating the Eucharist-"and answered Amen with the rest."

§ 41. The subject of this thanksgiving is thus expressed by Justin the Martyrk in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew,

f Cap. viii. p. 37. ed. Coteler. See chap. vi. sect. 19.

g Cap. xli. p. 169. ed. Coteler.

h S. Epiphan. Opp., tom. i. p. 233. ed. Colon. The passage from St. Ireed. Colon. The passage from St. Ire-

where he compareth the offering of fine flour for the leper at CHAP. his cleansing according to the law, Lev. xiv. 10, with the bread of that thanksgiving which our Lord hath appointed us to make in remembrance of His passion, "Ινα αμα τε εὐγαριστώμεν τῷ Θεῷ, ὑπέρ τε τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐκτικέναι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς έν αὐτῶ, διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐν ἦ γεγόναμεν έλευθερωκέναι ήμας, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας καταλελυκέναι τελείαν κατάλυσιν, δια του παθητού γενομένου κατά την βουλην αὐτοῦ. "That withal we may give thanks to God, for having made the world, and all things in it, for man, and for having freed us from that naughtiness wherein we were born, and overthrown principalities and powers with a perfect overthrow, by Him that became passible according to His counsel." And Irenæus, iv. 341-arguing against the heretics of that time, that denied God the Father to have created heaven and earth, because then the Church should do affront to God, offering Him the creatures which He acknowledgeth not for His-sufficiently sheweth that the creatures of bread 354 and wine were offered with this Eucharist or thanksgiving, as well for the creation of all things as for the redemption of us. Justin Martyr, Apol. i.m, justifieth the Christians against the heathen, that consumed not God's creatures with fire in sacrifices, but received them with words of prayer and thanksgiving, Υπέρ τε τοῦ γεγονέναι, καὶ τῶν εἰς εὐρωστίαν πόρων πάντων, ποιοτήτων μεν γενών, και μεταβολών ώρων, "For being born, and for all means of health, kinds of qualities, and changes of seasons:" wherein though the purpose of his speech is directed to the ordinary use of God's creatures, yet withal he seemeth to describe that thanksgiving which

παραδοθείσα, τύπος ην του άρτου της εύχαριστίας, δν είς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους οῦ ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαιρομένων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας ἀνθρώπων, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιείν, then the words in the text.—Cap. xli. p. 137. ed. Ben.

1 Oportet enim nos oblationem Deo facere . . . primitias earum, quæ sunt ejus, creaturarum offerentes; et hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram offert Fabricatori Alii enim alterum præter Fabricatorem dicentes Patrem, ea quæ secundum nos creata sunt, offerentes ei, cupidum alieni ostendunt eum, et aliena concupiscentem. Qui

vero ex defectione, et ignorantia, et passione dicunt facta ea, quæ sunt secundum nos; ignorantiæ, passionis, et defectionis fructus offerentes, peccant in Patrem suum contumeliam facientes magis ei, quam gratias agentes. . . . Ergo aut sententiam mutent, aut abstineant offerendo quæ prædicta sunt. Nostra autem consonans est sensentia Eucharistiæ, et Eucharistia rursus confirmat sententiam nostram. Offerimus enim ei quæ sunt ejus, congruentercommunicationem et unitatem prædicantes carnis et Spiritus.—S. Irenæi, Opp., lib. iv. cap. xviii. p. 251. ed. Ben.

CHAP, then the Eucharist was celebrated with, being then used, as it was instituted, at meat.

§ 42. In the Constitutions of the Apostles, viii. 12, you the thanks-have at large laid down the form of this thanksgiving, containing first a rehearsal of God's unspeakable perfections: of the creation by Christ of things visible and invisible, and of man in righteousness: of the providence of God toward man having sinned, before the law and by it, with praise to Him therefore with the cherubim and seraphim: but more particularly recounting the incarnation of Christ, and the whole course of His dispensation in the flesh, especially His sufferings, death, and rising again. Hereupon it followeth, Meuνημένοι οὖν ὧν δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπέμεινεν, εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, Θεὲ παντοκράτορ, οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνάμεθα, καὶ τὴν διά- 355 ταξιν αὐτοῦ πληροῦμεν ἐν ή γὰρ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο. That is, "Therefore being mindful of those things which He suffered for us, we give Thee thanks, Almighty God, not so much as we ought, but as much as we are able"-there is Justin Martyr's ὄση δύναμις—"and fulfil His appointment: for upon the night wherein He was betrayed"-rehearing the whole words of institution of the Eucharist upon this. The same is the argument of this thanksgiving in the liturgies intitled to St. Jamesⁿ and St. Basil, both the Greek and the Latin, and that which we have from Masius out of the Syriaco. In that of St. Chrysostom it is to the same purpose, but in fewer words; in that of St. Mark, the same for substance, but more in brief, and for order somewhat otherwise: so in that which I spake of p, turned out of the Arabic, under the names of St. Basil, St. Gregory, and St. Cyril, in this last as in that of St. Mark, and not much otherwise in that of the Christians of St. Thomas in India q. In the canon of the Mass, that which is called the prefacer seemeth to be that which remaineth of

[&]quot; Biblioth. Patr., tom. vi. Paris. 1610; Biblioth. Max., tom. ii. Lugdun. 1677; Asseman. Cod. Liturg.,

tom. v.

o Bibliotheca Patrum, Paris. tom. vi. Renaudot, tom. ii. p. 548.

P See chap. vii. sect. 42.

q A Latin version of it is given in Raulin's Historia Ecclesiæ Malabari-cæ, p. 293. Rom. 1745. And in Bibliothec. Max. tom. xxvii. Lugdun. 1677.

See also Le Brun, tom. vi. p. 467.

Lectis secreto orationibus super oblata, incipit Sacerdos præfationem præmissa populi salutatione. Est au-tem præfatio veluti proloquium astantes excitans et disponens ad præci-puam actionem, in qua proprie sacrifi-cium consistit.—Bona, Rer. Liturgic., lib. ii. cap. x. § 1. p. 551. Antverp. 1677. The Preface is not a part of the Canon properly so called.

this thanksgiving, for it expresses the praises of God with CHAP. much vehemence, though the subject of those praises, either concerning the creation of the world, or our redemption, is not contained in it: for the tenor of it is in a manner that 356 of our service-"It is very meet, right" and afterwards, "therefore with angels and archangels".... beside the proper prefaces, in which are celebrated the works of God's goodness, which the Church remembereth upon several solemnities.

§ 43. In fine, it seemeth that this thanksgiving, from which both the action of celebrating this Sacrament and the consecrated elements themselves are called Εὐχαριστία, according to Justin Martyr and Irenæust, did from the eldest times of the Church contain the remembrance of the creation of all things, in regard to the ordinary use of God's creatures, for the maintenance of our bodies, because it was at the first practised, as it was instituted, at meat. So much the words of Justin Martyr related afore u seem to import, when he affirmeth that the only sacrifice that Christians have received to offer is that of praise and thanksgiving at their nourishment, at which remembrance is made of the passion which God suffered for us.

§ 44. But as this Sacrament was frequented no otherwise [The same than as the most solemn part of God's public service at reli-gies.] gious assemblies for that purpose, whatsoever was expressed more or less of the subject of it concerning the creation and redemption of the world, yet in all manner of liturgies of all Christian Churches there is none that I have seen which 357 doth not premise this thanksgiving and praise to God to the celebration of that Sacrament. And it is very remarkable that in that distance of times and places from which we receive the several forms yet extant with so much difference as must needs proceed from thence, yet there are two particulars of it in which all the forms that are extant agree, the one the beginning of it, with Sursum cordax, or "Lift up your

Five of these are retained in the English book; the Council of West-minster, A.D. 1175, allowed ten only. Wilkins' Concil., tom. i. p. 478.

Sect. 41. " Chap, viii. sect. 41.

^{*} The Æthiopic Liturgy does not contain the Sursum Corda. In the Malarabic we have it thus in the Latin version: S. Sursum sint mentes ves-træ. D. Apud te Deum Abraham, Isaac et Israel, Regem supergloriosum.

CHAP, hearts," the people answering as we use it, and then, to let us understand to what purpose they are exhorted to do it, "Let us give thanks to our Lord God," specifying the prayer which I now describe: the other is the communion of the Church militant with the fellowship of angels in this office, expressed in the Trisagiony or seraphical hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth:" for though there is much difference between forms that are extant, yet it will be hard to find any of them wherein both those have not a place, which, had the forms been arbitrary, could not have come to pass.

Prayer which it celebrated

§ 45. Here a question lies, to mine apprehension, very was always much concerning this purpose: whereas the creatures of bread and wine are deputed to the effect of becoming the body and blood of Christ to them that receive them aright by the appointment of our Lord, executed by the Church, how it can be conceived that by giving thanks to God to the pur- 358 pose specified, they are, on the part of the Church, deputed to such effect. To me it seemeth unquestionable that the thanksgiving wherewith our Lord in the Gospel is said to have celebrated this Sacrament at His last supper, contained also prayer to God for the effect to which the elements, when they became this Sacrament, are deputed: and that the Church, upon His example, hath always frequented His institution with the like, rehearsing His institution out of the Gospel, and praying for the effect of it at the present, after the thanksgiving hitherto described: and so-whereas in the sense of the Church of Rome the elements are consecrated, that is, transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, by rehearsing the affirmative words of Christ, This is My body, this is My blood, as operative-in the true sense of the Church they are consecrated, that is, deputed to be this Sacrament, and to the effect of it, by the prayer of the congregation, grounded upon the institution of Christ and the promise which it implieth.

The conments.]

§ 46. Let me suppose in the first place that the elements,

y Duplex est Trisagion. Istud nimirum de quo nunc agimus omnibus ecclesiis commune; et illud, quod Græci quotidie, Latini semel in anno Græce simul et Latine concinunt in magna

Parasceuë, nempe Sanctus Deus, Sanctus fortis, Sanctus immortalis miserere nobis.-Bona, Rer. Liturgie., lib. ii. cap. x. § 5. p. 555.

by being deputed to become this Sacrament, are not abo- CHAP. lished for their substance, nor cease to be what they were, but yet begin to be what they were not, that is, visible signs, 359 not only to figure the sacrifice of Christ's cross-which being so used they are apt to do of themselves, setting the institution of Christ aside-but also to tender and exhibit the invisible grace which they represent to them that receive. For though no man can receive the body and blood of Christ that is not disposed with a living faith to receive the same, yet on God's part it is undoubtedly tendered to those that are not so disposed, otherwise how saith the Apostle that those that eat and drink unworthily are guilty of the body and blood of Christ, as not discerning the same? And otherwise how saith our Lord of the elements at the instant of delivering them, "This is My body, this is My blood," in the present tense?

§ 47. Let me suppose in the second place that our Lord, [After the in celebrating this Sacrament, made use of the received cus-Judæa.] tom of His people: which was, as still it is, in receiving all good things at God's hands, to premise thanksgiving, or blessing as they call it, before they used them. In particular, at feasts, before supper was done, they took bread and broke it, and gave it about, and the cup of wine likewise, having blessed God for the use of those excellent creatures. Upon solemnities and particular occasions mention was made of that which the time required. This is the ground of those two points of the thanksgiving discussed afore, the use of 360 those creatures, and the redemption of the world; which our Lord specified, upon the exigence of the general custom and the particular occasion, and the primitive Christians, according to Justin Martyr, frequented upon His example.

§ 48. But, as in the like case at the miracle of the loaves, [With when it is said that "our Lord looked up to heaven and thanks.] blessed," Matt. xiv. 19, "or gave thanks," as it is John vi. 11, it cannot be doubted that beside blessing God for His creatures He prayed also for the purpose of that which He intended to do: no more is it to be doubted that the thanksgiving which He made over those elements, for that which they represented, contained also prayer, that by them it might be communicated to His disciples. The tenor and

CHAP. consequence of our Lord's words require no less. For that which is affirmed must be true before it be truly affirmed, and the process of this action, blessing and delivering the elements, and commanding to receive them as His body and blood, importeth that He intended to affirm that so they were, in the true sense which the words import, at the instant of delivering them. And by what consequence could His disciples conceive them to be deputed for signs to exhibit His body and blood upon His giving of thanks over them for the redemption of the world, unless we suppose His thanksgiv-361 ing, whereof the Gospel speaketh, to contain also prayer, that they might become effectual to that purpose? And herewith agreeth that of the Apostle, [1 Tim. iv, 4, 5,] "Every creature of God is good, and none to be rejected, being received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." For here the thanksgiving wherewith the creatures are sanctified to the nourishment of our bodies containeth also prayer, grounded upon the word of God, whereby He appointeth them for that purpose: accordingly, therefore, the thanksgiving wherewith these elements were sanctified by our Lord to be the nourishment of the soul, must contain prayer not grounded upon the institution of God to that purposebecause the act of Christ for the present went before His institution for the future—but as joined to His command, grounding a word of promise to the Church, whereupon it was to do likewise.

[The Jew-ish bene-dictions.] as they call them, benedictions, which the Jews at this day practise, from very ancient time, as they pretend: for the foot and close of divers the most remarkable of them is with prayer for the blessing of God upon that wherefore they give thanks. For example, among the daily eighteen; "Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, that removest sleep from our eyes and slumbering from our eye-lids: and let it please Thee, O Lord 362 our God, and God of our fathers, to practise us in Thy law, and to make us cleave to Thy precepts; and bring us not into sin, and transgression, and temptation, and contempt," and so forth, ending thus, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, that givest good graces." The blessing of the law, that is, the thanksgiving to God for it, is this; "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our

God, the King of the world, that hath sanctified us with His CHAP. precepts, and given us command concerning the matters of the law: and sweeten, O God, the words of the law in our mouth, and in the mouth of Thy people the house of Israel: and make us all, and our children, and our children's children, knowers of Thy name, and learners of Thy law for itself: blessed art Thou, O Lord, that teachest Thy people Israel the law." So in the blessing of wine, so in the blessing after meat. And so for the resemblance of the blessing of our Lord over the elements with these, and the exigence of the business, may we justly presume that it ran in the like form to the purpose of it. Let a man look over the benedictions which they use before and after the lesson of "Hear, O Israel," Deut. vi., in the morning. Let a man look over the eighteen benedictions which they say every day, morning, evening, and at night, the antiquity whereof may in some sort be valued by that which hath been said afore, chap. vii.z, and it shall easily appear that they contain prayers as well as praises or thanksgivings to God, though called benedictions, because they begin, or end, or both, with "Blessed art Thou, O God," specifying something concerning the subject of each".

§ 50. And last of all, herewith agreeth the practice of the [The pracancient Church, wherein for certain the thanksgiving de-Church.] scribed afore was joined with prayer for the effect of that which was done. So saith Justin, that the president sent forth prayers and thanksgivings to God. So in Tertullian, de Oratione, cap. xiv., sacrificiorum orationibus, and in the 363 next words, Eucharistiab, stand both for the same. So in the hundred-and-third of the African canons these thanksgivings are called "prefaces," to my thinking, because this thanks-

In section 18.

Ascension-day]. Si flet mentio Spiritus Sancti, dicatur: In trinitate ejusdem Spiritus Sancti [Collect for Whitsunday]. Rubric. de Oratione, Brev. Rom. For a full account of the rule see Durand. Ration. Divin. Off., lib. iv. cap. xv., de Oratione, Num. 10-13. fol. 75. Venet. 1609.

Cited before in chap. viii. sect. 37.

c Cited before in chap, vii. sect. 36.

a So also in the Church prevails a like rule with respect to the conclusion of each prayer;—Si Oratio dirigatur ad Patrem, concluditur: Per Dominum [Collect for Grace]. Si ad Fili-um: Qui vivis et regnas [first Sunday in Lent]. Si in principio orationis flat mentio Filii, dicatur: Per eundem [Collect for the Feast of the Circum-cision]. Si in fine Orationis, dicatur: Qui tecum vivit et regnat [Collect for

CHAP. giving was always premised to the prayer which the Eucharist was consecrated with.

[The § 51. I will here propound that the prayer that followed followed followed after the rehearsal of the institution of this Sacrafollowed in the place alleged of the Constitutions of the Apo-§ 51. I will here propound that form of prayer which stles. For a prayer to the like effect is to be found in all the Eastern liturgies. Which if we compare with the testimonies of ecclesiastical writers, which divers have produced to prove that the elements are not consecrated by the affirmative words of Christ, as operative, but by the prayers of the Church^d, it will appear that it is the prayer whereof we now speak, always used in the Church, to obtain of God the promise which the institution of Christ supposeth, that the elements present might be deputed to the effect of becoming visible signs, tendering and exhibiting the invisible grace which they figure. Which is that which in this matter is called consecration, as I suppose.

[In the Constitu-

§ 52. Having repeated the institution of this Sacrament tions of the out of the Gospels, where we left afore, it followeth: Meuvyμένοι τοίνυν τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρών αναστάσεως και της είς ουρανούς έπανόδου και της μελλούσης αὐτοῦ δευτέρας παρουσίας, ἐν ή ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως κρίναι ζώντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ἀποδούναι ἐκάστω κατά τὰ έργα αὐτοῦ, προσφέρομέν Σοι τῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῶ, κατά την αὐτοῦ διάταξιν, τὸν ἄρτον τούτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τούτο εὐχαριστούντές Σοι δί αὐτού, ἐφ' οἰς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς έστάναι ενώπιον Σου και ιερατεύειν Σοι και άξιουμέν Σε, όπως εύμενῶς ἐπιβλέψης ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν Σου, Σύ ὁ ἀνενδεής Θεός. καὶ εὐδοκήσης ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου. καὶ καταπέμψης τὸ ἄγιόν Σου Πνεῦμα ἐπὶ την θυσίαν ταύτην τὸν μαρτύρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Κυρίου Ίησοῦ, ὅπως ἀποφήνη τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αίμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου Ίνα οἱ μεταλαβόν-

d See the argument on the side of bric next after the delivery of the cup, where the priest is directed "to conse crate more according to the form before prescribed, beginning at 'our Saviour Christ in the same night that He was betrayed," &c. See this subject treated of more at large in the Epilogue, bk. iii. chap. iv. * Sect. 42.

the Greeks in this controversy in Nico-laus Cabasilas' Liturgie Expositio, printed in the Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. ii. p. 200. Paris. 1624, and in Latin in the Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. vi. Paris. 1610. The doctrine of the English Church is the same with that of the Roman, as is shewn in the Ru-

τες αὐτοῦ, βεβαιωθώσι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων СΗΑΡ. τύχωσι του Διαβόλου και της πλάνης αὐτοῦ ρυσθώσι Πνεύματος άγίου πληρωθώσιν άξιοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου γένωνται ζωής αίωνίου τύχωσι, Σοῦ καταλλαγέντος αὐτοῖς Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ. "Therefore mindful of His passion, and death, and rising from the dead, and ascension into heaven, and of 364 His second appearance, at which He is to come with glory and power to judge the quick and dead, and to render to every man according to his works, we offer to Thee our King and God, according to His appointment, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee through Him, that Thou hast vouchsafed us to stand before Thee, and to minister unto Thee: and beseech Thee that Thou wouldest look favourably upon these oblations present before Thee, Thou God that wantest nothing, and accept them to the honour of Thy Christ, and send down Thy Holy Spirit, witness of the passions of the Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, to exhibit this bread the body, and this cup the blood of Thy Christ: that they which partake of it may be confirmed in godliness, obtain remission of sins, be delivered from the devil and his deceit, be filled with the Holy Ghost, become worthy of Thy Christ, and obtain life everlasting, Thou being reconciled to them, God Almighty." It is clearly true in the sense and language of the ancient Church, which St. Ambrose saith, De his qui mysteriis initiantur, cap. ix. Ante benedictionem verborum cælestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem, corpus Christi significatur: "Before consecration another species is named," that is, the bread, "after it the body of Christ is signified." And de Sacramentis, lib. v. cap. 48, Dixi vobis, quòd ante verba Christi, quod offertur, panis dicatur, ubi Christi verba depromta fuerint, jam non panis dicitur, sed corpus appellatur: "I told you that before the words of Christ, that 365 which is offered is called bread; after the words of Christ are produced, it is no more called bread, it is called His

§ 53. Therefore, whereas in this prayer the elements are [Its pur-

tom. ii. col. 339. ed. Ben. The Benedictine editors have omitted the word Christi before significatur "in all former editions," and in Body of the Canon

F. S. Ambros, de Mysteriis, liber unus, om. ii. col. 339, ed. Ben. The Beneicitine editors have omitted the word S. Ambros. Opp., tom. ii. col. 378. ed. Ben.

CHAP, named by their kind, of bread and wine, it is plain that all that while they are not conceived, or intended, to be consecrated. And what doubt can there be in that, when we see a prayer follow, wherein is desired that the elements may become the body and blood of Christ? And he that shall turn over the copies of liturgies, which we have extant from the Eastern Churches, shall find them to agree in this: that after the institution is rehearsed out of the Gospels, professing that what is presently done is in obedience to the same, prayer is made first, that by the Holy Ghost the elements may be sanctified to become the body and blood of Christ, and then that they may be to such effects of grace as are specified in the form rehearsed to them that communicate. Only in the missal of the Maronites, printed at Rome, there be divers forms of consecration—which they call Anaphora under the Apostles' names, and other Eastern doctors, wherein this prayer seemeth to be wilfully changed, to make them conformable to the doctrine of the now Church of Rome. It was printed there for the use of that nation in the year MDXCIV.

[Seeming changes in the Western liturgy.

§ 54. In the ancient form of the Latin Church, there seemeth-not by the now canon of the Mass, but by the 366 remembrance of it extant in ancient Church-writers-to have been some difference from this, and that difference seemeth to have occasioned the error of the now Church of Rome, concerning consecration by operative words. Nevertheless the words of St. Ambrose, or whosoever wrote those books, de Sacramentis, are these, iv. 5h: Vis scire quia verbis calestibus consecratur? accipe quæ sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos, Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem adscriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur . . . "Wilt thou know that it is consecrated by the heavenly words? hear what be the words: the priest saith, Make this sacrifice imputable, accountable, acceptable for us, which is the figure of the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord. Who the night before He suffered" ... and so forth, proceeding to rehearse the institution out of the Gospel. In the canon of the Mass is added ratami, or

h S. Ambros, Opp., tom. ii. col. 371. stored it into the text of St. Ambrose, dd. Ben. "out of many MSS." ed. Ben.
The Benedictine editors have re-

ratified; hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, much CHAP. to my purpose; for it is plain that this is not the doctrine of the now Church of Rome, when, being to shew how the elements are consecrated, he produceth the prayer of the Church joined to the institution of Christ: which is to say, that by virtue of Christ's institution, executed by the Church, 367 with prayer to God to ratify and accept the elements presently offered, to be the figure and remembrance of the body and blood of Christ, they are deputed to become this Sacra-

§ 55. In the canon of the Mass these words are somewhat changed from that which is set down in St. Ambrose, for they are read thus: Ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi: "That they may become to us the body and blood of Thy most beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord." And it seemeth that they were changed on purpose, that this Sacrament might not be called a figure of the invisible grace of it. But in the meantime it is manifest that here prayer is made for the effect of Christ's institution in these elements, and that nothing can be more cross to this doctrine of the now Church of Rome, than their own service. St. Ambrose observedk, that after the institution is rehearsed, the elements are called the body and blood: the reason seems to be, because they were intended to be deputed to become this Sacrament, by prayer grounded on the institution of Christ, which it is joined with. But it should seem that after the institution there followed in the ancient form of the Latin Church a prayer to the purpose, though not in the terms of that which now followeth in the canon of the Mass, 368 the close whereof is this: Ut quotquot ex hac Altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii Tui corpus et sanguinem sumserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratiâ repleamur: "That as many as shall receive the holy body and blood of Thy Son, by participating of this Altar, may be fulfilled with Thy heavenly benediction and grace." Which is plainly in lieu of the second point of that prayer alleged out of all the Eastern liturgies, desiring the like effects of grace, by the means of this Sacrament upon them that communicate.

§ 56. If any man think that the forms hitherto described

[&]amp; See sect, 52.

elements in the sense of the now Church of Rome, that is, to abolish the corporal substance of them, and substitute that of the body and blood of Christ instead, not in the true sense, to depute them to become visible signs, tendering and exhibiting the invisible grace which they figure, he shall much prejudice the truth which we profess: the due advantage whereof hath been long since proved to be this, that the error pinned upon it is not to be found so much as in the service of the Church where it is bred and maintained.

§ 57. When prayer is made concerning the elements in the canon of the Mass, Ut nobis corpus fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi: "That they may become to us the body and blood of Thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord:" these words 'to us,' make an abatement in the proper 369 signification of the body and blood. For the elements may be said to become the body and blood of Christ without addition, in the same true sense in which they are so called in the Scriptures. But when they are said to become the body and blood of Christ to them that communicate, that true sense is so well signified and expressed, that the words cannot well be understood otherwise than to import not the corporal substance, but the spiritual use of them. In the Greek form1 prayer is made that the elements may be made, or become, or be changed, or translated into the body and blood of Christ. That also among our writers of controversies is acknowledged to be verified, and is indeed easily verified, though we suppose them not to cease to be what they were, but to become what they were not, that is, visible signs exhibiting the invisible grace which they figure.

§ 58. To which meaning that which always follows in that form directs us^m, when prayer is made that the elements may become the body and blood of Christ, so that they which receive them may be fulfilled with the blessings of His grace:

τῷ ἀγίφ.—Liturg. S. Chrysost. Bibl. Patrum. Græco-Lat., tom. ii. p. 79. Paris. 1624.

^m °Ωστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς κῆψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος, εἰς Βασιλείας οὐρανῶν πλήρωμα, εἰς παρρησίαν τὴν πρὸς Σὲ μἡ εἰς κρίμα ἡ εἰς κατάκριμα.—Ιδ., pp. 79, 80.

which is to say, that they may become that which they are CHAP. called-to wit, the body and blood of Christ-not in respect of the corporal substance and kind, whereof they consist, but o in respect to the spiritual communion which they exhibit. And indeed, when St. Ambrose saith that after consecration the body of the Lord and His blood only is named, and signified, and expressed, this also seems to import a great abatement of the proper signification of the body and blood of Christ: as being so called and named and signified to us, not because the substance of their nature and kind is abolished, but because it comes no more into consideration, as not concerning the spiritual benefit of them that communicate. Which seemeth to be the true reason why Churchwriters continually call the elements by the names of that which they exhibit, without such addition as might import that abatement whereof now we speak: who nevertheless otherwhiles stick not to acknowledge that the species of the elements-that is, in their sense, not the outward appearance of the accidents, as those of the Church of Rome disguise the true meaning of the Latin word, but the inward nature and substance of their kind-doth remain as it was.

§ 59. It remaineth now to declare both the right purpose Prayer for and true meaning of that prayer for all states of the Church, Church which in all liturgies, that I have seen, is made at conse-at cele-brating crating the Eucharist, and before the receiving of it. In that the Eucharist. which hath been hitherto represented out of the Constitu-371 tions of the Apostles, as in the most of the Eastern liturgies, immediately after the consecration hitherto described, the beginning of it there is thus: "Ετι δεόμεθά Σου, Κύριε, καὶ ύπερ της άγιας Σου εκκλησίας, της από περάτων εως περάτων, ην περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίω αίματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σοῦ, ὅπως αὐτην διαφυλάξης, ἄσειστον, καὶ ἀκλυδώνιστον, ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αίωνος και ύπερ πάσης επισκοπής της δρθοτομούσης του λόγου της άληθείας έτι παρακαλουμέν Σε καὶ υπέρ της έμης του προσφέροντός Σοι οὐδενίας καὶ ὑπέρ παντός τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ύπερ των διακόνων και παντός του κληρού, ίνα πάντας σοφίσας, Πνεύματος άγίου πληρώσης. έτι παρακαλουμέν Σε Κύριε υπέρ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῆ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ίνα είρηνεύωνται τὰ πρὸς ήμᾶς. ὅπως ἐν ήσυχία καὶ ὁμονοία διάγοντες τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δοξάζωμέν Σε διὰ

CHAP. Ίησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν. ἔτι προσφέρομέν Σοι καὶ - ύπερ πάντων και των απ' αιώνος ευαρεστησάντων Σοι άγιων. ἔτι προσφέρομέν Σοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου ὑπὲρ των χηρών της εκκλησίας ύπερ των εν σεμνοίς γάμοις καὶ τεκνογονίαις ύπερ των νηπίων του λαού Σου . . . έτι αξιουμέν Σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀρρωστίαις ύπερ των εν πικρά δουλεία ύπερ των εν εξορίαις ύπερ των εν δημεύσει ύπερ πλεόντων και όδοιπορούντων όπως επίκουρος γένη έτι παρακαλουμέν Σε καὶ υπέρ των μισούντων ήμας καὶ διωκόντων ήμας δια τὸ ὄνομα Σου ὑπερ των έξω ουτων καὶ πεπλανημένων όπως . . . ἔτι παρακαλουμέν Σε καὶ ύπερ των κατηχουμένων της εκκλησίας και ύπερ των χειμαζομένων ύπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοία ἀδελφῶν ήμων όπως . . . ἔτι προσφέρομέν Σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐκρασίας τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν ὅπως . . . ἐτι παρακαλουμέν Σε καὶ υπέρ των δι' εύλογον αιτίαν απόντων "σπως" . . . "Further we pray Thee, O Lord, for Thy holy Church from end to end, which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, that Thou wouldst keep it unmoved, unwaved, till the end of the world. And for all Bishops that divide the word of truth aright. Further we pray Thee for the meanness of me that offer to Thee. For the whole presbytery, for the deacons and all the clergy, that Further, for the King and powers, that they may keep peace toward us. Further, we offer to Thee for all the saints that have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world Further, we pray Thee for all this people," reckoning virgins, widows, married, and infants. "Further, we entreat for this city, for the sick, the banished, slaves, travellers, and those that are at home, that Further, we pray Thee for those that hate us and persecute us for Thy Name, for those that are without, and go astray, that Further, for the hearers, the possessed, the penitents, that Further, we offer to Thee for seasonable weather, and increase of fruits, that Further, we pray Thee for the absent for reasonable causes, that "

§ 60. In the same place, that is, immediately after the consecration of the Eucharist, is this prayer made in the liturgies attributed to St. James, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom. In

[&]quot; Labbei, tom. i. col. 482, ed. Venet.

the same place, in all the forms related under the names of CHAP.

ancient saints and doctors of the Church, in the missal of the Maronites, unless it be one. But in the liturgy intitled to St. Mark, this prayer is inserted straight after the beginning of the Eucharist or thanksgiving described afore. In the Ethiopic, immediately after the salutation of peace, which in the Eastern Churches was always straight before the Eucharist. In that of St. Cyril, among the three translated out of the Arabic and mentioned afore, in the same place with that of St. Mark. From whence we may argue this to have been the course of the Church of Alexandria, by the agreement observed between those liturgies that are intitled to those that were Bishops of Alexandria, and the Ethiopic depending upon that Church, wherein they differ from the rest. Yet so it is also in that of the Christians of St. Thomas in the East Indies. In the Latin Churches this prayer seemeth of old to have gone before the consecration, for St. Ambrose describing the consecration, saith, de Sacramentis, iv. 4, Oratio præmittitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæterisp: "Prayer is premised for the people, for the king, for the rest." And St. Augustine, Epist. lix. q: Eligo in his 373 verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel penè omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici; orationes, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur: "I choose to understand in these words," of St. Paul to Timothy, I., ii. 1, 2, "that which all or almost all the Church frequenteth, that we take those to be called supplications, which we make at celebrating the Sacraments, before that which is on the Lord's board begins to be blessed; prayers, when it is blessed and sanctified." For without peradventure these are the supplications for all states of the Church, whereof he speaketh.

§ 61. The order of this prayer in the canon of the Mass [Its place is somewhat strange: for he that will take notice of that in the canon of which goes before the words of institution, and that which the Mass.] follows after the same, until the Lord's Prayer, comparing all with the tenor of other liturgies, may observe that they

o Chap. vii. sect. 41. P Oratio petitur.-Ed. Ben.

⁴ S. August. ad Paulinum, Ep. exlix. tom. ii. col. 509. ed. Ben.

CHAP, are all parcels of this prayer for all states of Christ's Church, - which here we describe. And I observe, that in that form which is intitled to St. Peter, in the missal of the Maronites, this prayer is likewise made both before the words of institution, and after the same. I am punctual in observing the tenor of several liturgies in this point, to give notice that there is no ancient or pretended ancient form extant, wherein prayer is not made by him that celebrateth the Eucharist at 374 the Lord's board, to this purpose. A thing which seemeth to me somewhat strange, that, according to the general custom of the Church declared afore, prayer having been made by the people a little afore upon the same subject, that is, for all states of Christ's Church, though not in the same manner, but bidden by the deacon, and answered by the people, the same prayers should be again repeated by him that celebrateth the Eucharist at the Lord's board.

[In the African Church.]

§ 62. Which is more, the Church of Africa seemeth to have differed from the rest in the manner of this prayer, whereof we speak, by St. Augustine's words, Epist. cvii. :: Quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad Altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, et pro fidelibus ut in eo quod esse cæperunt, ejus munere perseverent, "When thou hearest the priest at the Altar exhorting the people of God, pray for the unbelievers, that God would convert them to the faith: and for the hearers, that He would inspire the desire of regeneration into them: and for the faithful, that by His grace they may persevere in that which they have begun to be." Compare we herewith his words that are read Epist. cxviii. cap. 185: Quando autem non est tempus, cum in Ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur, aut dis-375 putatur, aut Antistes clará voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur? "When is it not time to sing holy songs at the assemblies of the brethren in the Church, but in time of reading or preaching, or when the Bishop prays with a loud voice, or when common prayer is indicted by the deacon's voice?" Again, Epist. cvii.: Ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei, ad ejus Altare, populum hortantem ad Deum oran-

^{*} S. Augustin. Ep. ccxvii. ad Vitaiem, tom. ii. col. 799. ed. Ben.

* S. Augustin. ad inquisit. Januar. lib. ii. Ep. lv. tom. ii. col. 142. ed. Ben.

dum, vel ipsum clará voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem CHAP. suam venire compellat, non respondebis, Amen? "When you hear the priest of God at His Altar exhorting the people of God, or himself praying with a loud voice, that He would compel unbelieving nations to His faith, do ye not answer, Amen?" When St. Augustine mentioneth common prayer indicted by the deacon's voice, he acknowledgeth the litanies described afore-which Justin Martyr also calls common prayers t, because they proceeded from all the people-to have been practised in the African Churches before the Eucharist: which notwithstanding, by his words it appeareth that he which celebrated the Eucharist in the same form, was wont to exhort the people to make this prayer for all states of persons, unbelievers, hearers, believers, for instance of the rest, which is not according to the form of any of those liturgies which we have, to my remembrance. But he informeth 376 us besides, that those things which the Bishop exhorted the people to pray for, the same he prayed for alone afterwards, and that prayer he means when he speaks of the Bishop praying with a loud voice.

§ 63. It is hard for me to give account of this general prac-[Its oritice of the ancient Church otherwise than by conjecture. Thus ginal.] much may be affirmed with confidence, that the practice of this prayer was the effect of the Apostle's instruction whereof our service speaketh; "Who by Thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men." The words of the Apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2; "I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." St. Ambrose upon these words; Hac regula ecclesiastica est tradita à magistro Gentium, qua utuntur sacerdotes nostri, ut pro omnibus supplicent, deprecantes pro regibus hujus sæculi; ut subjectas habeant gentes, ut in pace positi, in tranquillitate mentis et quiete Deo nostro servire possimus. Orantes etiam pro iis, quibus sublimis potestas est credita, ut in justitia et veritate gubernent rempublicam, suppeditante rerum abundantia, ut amota perturbatione seditionis, succedat lætitia". "This ecclesiastical rule is

CHAP. delivered to the Church by the doctor of the Gentiles, which our priests use to make supplication for all, praying for the kings of this world, that they may hold the nations subject, that settled in peace we may be able to serve our God with tranquillity and quiet of mind. Praying also for those that are trusted with high power, that they may govern the commonwealth in justice and truth, with abundance of all things, that the trouble of sedition being removed, gladness may 377 succeed."

> § 64. When he calleth it the rule of that service which the priests ministered, it is plain he understandeth the words of the Apostle concerning the prayers which were made at the Lord's board at celebrating the Eucharist: besides, the brief which he relateth containeth the chief particulars of that form produced out of the Constitutions of the Apostles. So St. Augustine, Epist. lix., in the words partly related afore, partly to be related afterwards*, acknowledgeth the whole order of the service which the Eucharist was celebrated with to be prescribed in these words of the Apostle. But this purpose to prove there needs no great dispute. The general custom of the ancient Church, gathered from the marvellous agreement of all ancient forms of service that remain, speaks aloud that this prayer for all men at the Eucharist, whereof we speak, comes from the order of the Apostle.

[Used at

§ 65. It seemeth therefore to me most probable that the the cele-bration of meaning of the Apostle is this, and so was understood and the Eucha- practised by all the ancient Church, that at the celebration of the Eucharist, supplications and prayers be made for all men, for kings, &c. For it is nothing forced or strained to take the word εὐχαριστίας, or "thanksgivings," in the same sense in which it stands in the passages of Clemens and Ignatius 378 alleged aforey, for the celebration of the Eucharist, for the whole action, and all the prayers which it was celebrated with. And otherwise the consequence of the Apostle's words will be altogether impertinent. For in the common and general sense of this word thanksgiving, it is not proper to exhort that giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings and so forth, that we may lead a peaceable life in all godliness and

honesty: but it is proper to exhort that supplications and CHAP.

prayers be made for all men, for kings and the rest, that by
the means of their rule and government we may lead a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty: and it is proper enough
to exhort that thanksgivings be made for all men to that purpose, understanding by thanksgivings that action of celebrating
the Eucharist, part whereof are those supplications and prayers.

§ 66. And thus, as in lieu of spiritual graces in prayer, which were used to make supplication for the necessities of all members and states of the Church under the Apostle, according to St. Chrysostom alleged afore^z, prayers afterwards in most parts of the Church were indicted by the deacon and made by the people, which for the manner and substance both were conceived afore to be the original of 379 those that since have been called litanies: so nevertheless to give effect to this rule of the Apostle it seemeth to have been an ancient and general custom of the Church to make supplications and prayers at the Lord's board at celebrating the Eucharist, though much to the same purpose with the former for all states of men, but of the Church in particular.

§ 67. And this nice observation, if it may take place, will be of great consequence to out the Church of Rome of all pretence of the sacrifice of the Mass in the sense of the ancient Church, and in particular in the style and tenor of the liturgies themselves, which for the great agreement between themselves, and with the style of the most ancient Church-writers, seem to contain and express it. For it is manifest that it is called an oblation or sacrifice in all liturgies, according to the style of the most ancient Churchwriters, not as consecrated, but as presented and offeredwhether by the people, as the custom was, to him that ministered, or by him that ministered, to God-to be consecrated as aforesaid. It is the style of the form produced out of the Constitutions of the Apostles", "We offer unto Thee this bread and this cup, beseeching Thee that they may become the body and blood of Christ to the soul's health of them that receive;" or to that purpose. Thus far there is no pretence of 380 the sacrifice of the Mass, which supposeth the body and blood of Christ present as the subject of it. True it is that the

CHAP. style of this prayer whereof we speak, in divers points of

X. divers liturgies runs in the terms of, "we offer unto Thee,"
for such and such, for this and that.

§ 68. But it is to be observed that this prayer came not after the consecration in all liturgies, and according to the custom of all Churches, to give occasion to think that the meaning is, to offer Christ there present by consecration, for the said persons and causes, but went afore it in divers, as hath been said, the purpose of it being to execute the Apostle's exhortation to make prayers, supplications, and intercessions for all men at celebrating the Eucharist. Besides, it is nowhere said, "we offer unto Thee the body and blood of Christ" for such persons and causes; but it is divers times said, "we offer unto Thee" την λογικήν λατρείαν ταύτην, "this reasonable service:" and what is that but these prayers? For in the form alleged b it is said at some points, "we pray Thee for the Church, and for the king;" at others, "we offer unto Thee for this people, and for the weather, and fruitful seasons;" and shall we not think them both to stand in one sense?

§ 69. It hath been shewed that this prayer is the practice of the Apostle's exhortation to make prayers, and supplications, and thanksgivings for all men: and it hath been declared that the meaning of his exhortation is, that at the cele-381 bration of the Eucharist such prayers and supplications be made. Therefore when it is said by name, in the form related out of the Constitutions of the Apostles, "we offer unto Thee for this people, we offer unto Thee for the weather, and fruitful seasons," what should hinder the meaning to be according, at this celebration of the Eucharist, "In confidence that Thou hearest Thy Son for us, at this remembrance of His death, and in obedience to Thine Apostle, we pray unto Thee for such persons and causes?" as it is in express terms in the liturgy of the Indian Christians; Hac enim hora qua Patri Tuo sacrificium offertur, rogo Majestatema Tuam, miserere omnium creaturarum, "For at this hour, when sacrifice is offered to Thy Father, I pray Thy Majesty have mercy on all creatures." And thus, so often as we read in Church-

c Rogo gratiam tuam, in the Bib- 1677.

Sect. 59. lioth. Patr., tom. xxvii. p. 675. Lugdun.

writers of offering for such and such persons and causes, the CHAP. meaning is, that they offered the elements in which the Eucharist was to be celebrated, that with it they might pray for those persons or causes, according to the Apostle.

§ 70. And if the question be further made concerning [Ofprayers offering for the dead, it shall seem to me nothing improbable parted.] that because the Apostle exhorteth that supplications, and prayers, and intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all 382 men, therefore the ancient Church enlarged the sense of that "all men" further than they needed to do, to comprise the dead as well as the living: and that thence came the commemoration of the dead at the Eucharist and the offering of the elements, that it might be celebrated, and that such commemoration might be made. Though as concerning the particulars of the prayers for the dead in the ancient Church, how far they came from the Scripture, and how far from human opinions, in that whole matter I refer myself to those things which have been declared with so much learning by that excellent learned Prelate, in his Answer to the Jesuit's Challenge in Ireland d.

§ 71. As for the rest of the service which the Eucharist is The resicelebrated with, after the prayer hitherto described, there fol-due of that lows in the Constitutions of the Apostles a brief repetition of the litanies, with a prayer of the Bishop, that the congregation may worthily communicate. In the time of communicating it is ordered there that the thirty-fourth Psalm be sung, in regard of the words "O taste and see how gracious the Lord is!" In other of the Eastern liturgies, the twentythird, forty-second, hundred-and-eighteenth, and the hundredand-forty-fourth are prescribed. The Latin liturgists call the verses of psalms that are sung during the time of communi-

τος ἐν τῷ μεταλαμβάνειν πάντας τοὺς λοιπούς. Labbei, tom. i. col. 485. ed. Venet. It is the thirty-fourth in the English division of the Psalms.

⁴ Archbishop Ussher. See Tracts for the Times, No. 72.
⁶ Έπίβλεψον ἐφ' ἦμας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιόν Σου τοῦτο' ὁ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξω εἰς δόξαν τοῦ ὀνόματός Σου' Καὶ ἀγιάσας ήμων το σώμα, και την ψυχήν καταξίω σον καθαρούς γενομένους από παντός μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος τυχεῖν τῶν προκειμένων ἀγαθῶν καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν ἀνάξιον κρίνης, ἀλλὰ βοηθὸς ἡμῶν γενοῦ·—Labbei, tom. i. col. 484. ed. Venet.

Ι Ψαλμός δὲ λεγέσθω τριακοστός τρί-

The Psalms xxii. Dominus regit me, exvi. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, and cxliv. Exaltabo Te Deus meus rex, are ordered to be sung in the liturgy of St. James; Psalm xli. Quemadmodum desiderat cereus, in the li-turgy of St. Mark. These are num-bered in the English version respectively xxiii, exvii, exly, xlii,

CHAP. cating, "communionsh;" and the prayer or thanksgiving that 383

follows after the same, "post-communionsi." Such a form of thanksgiving there is extant in all liturgies. The people is dismissed with the benediction of the Bishop in the Constitutions, which benediction comes after the communionk; before the communion in most of the other liturgies!

[Out of St. Augustine.]

§ 72. I will here repeat that whole passage of St. Augustine, the beginning whereof was produced afore m, for it containeth the whole order of these remains whereof we speak. Ep. lix.: Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel penè omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici; orationes, cùm benedicitur, et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem, ferè omnis Ecclesia Dominica oratione concludit: interpellationes autem, sive ut vestri codices habent, postulationes, fiunt, cùm populus benedicitur: tunc enim Antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimæ offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto Sacra-

h Post osculum pacis suscipit Sacerdos sacra dona, quibus ipse refectus ea populo dispensat, et interim chorus cantat Antiphonam quæ ideo Communio dicitur, quia populo communicante cantatur. Olim psalmus simul concini solebat cum Gloria Patri, atque ipsius Antiphonæ repetitione, ut tota actio communionis, laude Dei personante, perficeretur. — Bona, Rer. Liturgic., lib. ii. cap. xvii. § 1. p. 586. Antverp.

1677.

¹ Diaconus verò ex præscripto Ordinis Romani, videns omnes communicàsse, faciebat signum crucis in fronte, ut Prior scholæ cantorum ex eo intelligeret, quando deberet post Antiphonam, quæ communio vocatur, gloriam S. Trinitati psallere, et versum repetere. Olim enim post ipsam communionem psalmus, et diacono innuente, Gloria Patri cantari solebant, cum Antiphonæ repetitione. Tum surgens Pontifex e sede suâ, et veniens ad Altare, dabat orationem ad complendum. Sic enim in libro Sacramentorum S. Gregorii nuncupatur oratio, quæ nunc dicitur Postcommunio, quia nimirum ea recitata pro gratiarum actione Sacrificium completur.—Bona, Rer. Liturgic, lib. ii. cap. xx. § 2. p. 606. Antverp. 1677.

k Called ἐπίκλησιε μετὰ τὴν μετά-

ληψιν.—Apost. Constitut, lib. viii. 15. Labbei, tom. i. col. 485. ed. Venet. In the original edition the text ran thus, "comes after the consecration."

"comes after the consecration."

1 Communionem subsequentem præcedebat benedictio ab Episcopo vel Sacerdote impertita, ad quam Diaconus præsentes elata voce admonebat ut se inclinarent..... Post benedictionem et Sacerdotis communionem fideles communicaturi ad Altare accedebant.

—Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic., lib. i. cap. v. §§ 23, 24. p. 51. Paris. 1729. The reason of giving the benediction in this place Mabillon explains thus;

—In Missali Mozarabico benedictio ubique communioni præmittitur, itemque in Gallicano passim apud Thomasium: et hactenus benedictio Episcopalis ante communionem datur: Quippe licebat iis, qui non communicabant, accepta benedictione ante communionem discedere.... patet, non omnes qui tunc Missæ aderant, in eadem communionem accepisse.... Porro missa expleta censebatur ante communionem,........ Ib., cap. iv. § 14. p. 35.—See also Menard's notes upon the Liber Sacramentorum of St. Gregory the Great, not. 100. Benedictio.—S. Gregor. Opp., tom. iii. col. 295. ed. Ben.

Medical Communionem Sect. 60.

mento, gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, "I choose to under- CHAP. stand in these words that which all, or almost all, the Church frequenteth, that we conceive those to be called supplications which we make at celebrating the mysteries, before that which is on the Lord's board begins to be blessed; prayers, 384 when it is blessed, and sanctified, and broken to be distributed, which petition almost all the Church concludes with the Lord's Prayer"-so it is in all forms that are extant, and it is another mark that they were prescript-"but intercessions, or as your books have it, requests, are made when the people is blessed: for then the Bishops, as advocates, receiving their people, offer them to the most merciful Power with imposition of hands. Which done, and so great a Sacrament participated, all concludes with thanksgiving." The hundredand-third of the African canons related aforen: Placuit etiam hoc, ut preces quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones ab omnibus celebrentur.

§ 73. It seems that the benedictions of the Bishop or pres- [Of the byter that celebrated—to whom this office also belonged, as St. of the Hieromeo contendeth-whereof we speak, are called here com-people.] mendations, or impositions of hands, [that is] to say, prayers to commend the people to God with imposition of hands: unless by these commendations we understand those prayers for all men, according to the Apostle, wherewith the several estates of all men, especially of the Church, were commended to God: which, saith St. Augustine, went before the sanctifying of the elements. In the Anaphora of St. Basil published by Masius out of the Syriace, there is this prayer at the 385 beginning, before the consecration of the Eucharist: Extende, Domine, manum Tuam non aspectabilem, et benedic servis et ancillis Tuis, mundatóque ipsos ab omni macula carnis et spiritus, atque dignare nos fieri participes corporis unigeniti Filii Tui. The people bowed the head at receiving this blessing, the Bishop holding his hands over them, as a sign of God's hand stretched out to bless. Therefore he saith, "Extend, O Lord, Thy invisible hand, and bless Thy servants and handmaids,

 Chap. vii. sect. 36.
 Ep. ad Evangel. quoted in note t.
 P Bibliothec.
 Paris. 1610.
 Chap. x. sect. 6. of Prim. Govern. P Bibliothec. Patrum, tom. vi. col.

CHAP, and cleanse them from all stain of flesh and spirit, and deign them to become partakers of the body of Thy only begotten Son."

[Of confession.]

§ 74. Of confession of sins at beginning of the Mass hath been saidq: after the consecration the benediction is contained in these words, Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum: "The peace of God be with you always." You shall see how Luther understands it, in his form of communion of the year MDXXIIII. Quæ est quasi publica quædam absolutio à peccatis communicantium. Vox planè Evangelica, annuncians remissionem peccatorum, unica illa ac dignissima ad mensam Domini præparatio, si fide apprehendatur, non secus atque ex ore Christi prolata: "Which is," saith he, "a kind of public absolution of them that communicate from their sins. The very voice of the Gospel pronouncing remission of sins the only fittest preparation to the Lord's board, if apprehended by faith, as out of Christ's mouth." But it is plain that this is to be accounted 386 a benediction, because, as hath been said, confession of sins and prayer for pardon upon the same is made at the beginning of the Mass. In the liturgy of St. Basil which we have translated out of the Arabic, at the beginning prayer is made for remission of sins at large, upon the promise of the Gospel, "whose sins ye remit".... the like prayer is made there after receiving the Eucharist. In the Ethiopic, prayer is made before the consecration of the Eucharist to like purpose, though corrupted with that superstition which ignorance breedeth. In the Anaphora of St. Peter in the Maronites' missal this prayer is made for forgiveness of sins. In the Jesuit Kircherus' Prodromus Coptus' for an essay of that language, I remember, there is produced a form of this prayer, as ministered by the deacon, out of some of their liturgies. The books are not in my hands for the present. This seemeth most answerable to that confession of sins which our service useth before the Eucharist, otherwise it is to be granted that in most liturgies that which seemeth to keep most correspondence with it is rather a benediction than confession with prayer for pardon of sins.

^{*} Formula Missæ Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensi, Luther. Opp., tom. ii. fol. 383. Witebergæ, 1551.

Athanasii Kircheri, Prodromus Coptus, sive Ægyptiaeus, cap. ii. p. 37. Romæ, 1636.

§ 75. It remaineth that from that which hath been said we CHAP. give account of that form of service which we use, deriving it The higher than the Mass-from which it is charged to come, as charge of containing nothing but that which is found there, though not in our all that is there-and shewing where it shall be requisite that service. the corruptions of the Mass are laid aside in it. How just this charge is may appear in the confession of sins which it 387 begins with: were it enough to condemn any part of our service to say that the like is used in the Breviary and Mass, then must we condemn almost all reformed Churches that use confession of sins at the beginning of their service, as the Breviary and Mass do. Du Plessis u thought otherwise: like a man of learning as well as nobility he saw it was an argument of some antiquity in the practice of the reformed Churches in France, that confession of sins, which they use in the beginning, was and had been used in the Mass, and this ancient use an advantage to recommend it. And we have cause to see that though it was not used in the beginning of service, where hearers and penitents were dismissed in the middle, yet the alteration of times having brought that to nothing, we have no cause to balk it at the beginning, though it be there used in the Breviary and Mass.

§ 76. He that will use a little judgment and conscience [of daily must distinguish between a form of public service and the sion.] corruptions of the Mass pinned to it; between that which we follow and the reasons why we follow it. If by doing that which is done in the Mass we retain the corruptions of it, it is time it were done no more: if any man would not have us do that aright which tends to the service of God, because in 388 the Mass it is done amiss, we are bidden to our loss. The reason why we begin with confession of sins is not to be faulted; both because daily sins accrue daily upon the congregation and members of it, and daily reckonings not daily cleared oppress in the end, and there is no such means as the

" For although it be objected that it is purged from the Popish dross, yet if it should be brought to the touchstone, or tried in the test, let the wisest then judge how free from Popish dross it is, when therein they shall find Romish superstitious ceremonies maintained and pressed upon men's consciences, as the Surplice, Cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Sacrament, stand-ing at the Creed, attended with their several significations."—Christ on His Throne, case vi. p. 24. See note t. chap. vi. sect. 32. for the former part of this passage.

" See sect. 5.

CHAP. public prayers of the Church to strike them clear: and particularly as an entrance and preparation to the service of God, because if our confession be such as it must be presumed to be, it is the only sufficient disposition to make our service acceptable to God.

Extent of the power of the

§ 77. That which this Church of England is to give account of in particular is the declaration of forgiveness, upon keys, and the confession of sins, not used in other reformed Churches. wherein it consisteth. In this he shall proceed upon the surest ground, that first shall resolve wherein the power of binding and loosing, of retaining and remitting sins, given by our Lord in the Gospel, under the symbol of the keys of His house, consisteth, and how far it extendeth. For as there is no question that the ministers of the Church, by this commission, are authorized to declare forgiveness of sins to whomsoever they shall find disposed by serious contrition and true faith to receive it at God's hands: so to think that to bind and loose, to remit and retain sins, is nothing else but to declare them bound or loosed, remitted or retained, and that the charge whereof we 389 speak consists in declaring this and nothing else, is a thing which the property of no language will bear, seeing that in all use of speech all men understand it to be one thing to bind and loose, to retain and remit sins, another thing to declare that: yet is it no part of my mind to make this power of the keys, by which sins are bound or remitted, to consist in the power of pronouncing sentence of forgiveness, which God ratifieth: as resting well assured that God giveth pardon to whomsoever He sees disposed to receive it: and that thenceforth that disposition being brought to pass, the ministry of the keys consisteth only in declaring the pardon given by Godx: it seemeth nevertheless that the ministry of

> * Hoc de remittendis et retinendis peccatis mandatum, et illa de ligando et solvendo Petro facta promissio non alio debent referri quam ad verbi minis-terium, quod dum Apostolis committebat Dominus, simul et hoc solvendi ligandique munere ipsos instruebat. . Testificatus est ergo Christus nihil in Evangelii prædicatione Apostolorum esse præter ministerium. . . . Itaque peccatorum remissionem quam annunciarent, veram esse Dei promissionem, damnationem quam pronuntiarent, certum

esse Dei judicium. Habemus potestatem clavium esse simpliciter in illis locis Evangelii prædicationem: nec tam potestatem esse quam ministerium, si ad homines respicimus. Non enim hoad homines respicimus. Non enim hominibus hanc potestatem proprie Christus dedit, sed verbo suo cujus homines ministros fecit.—Calvin. Institut, lib. iv. cap. xi. § 1. Whitaker and Cartwright repeat the same doctrine, the former in his Preelectiones, the latter in his Annotations upon the Rhemish version of the New Testament. Whitaker § 78. The discipline of the primitive Church seemeth to point out to us this direct meaning of our Lord's promise, agreeable to the rest of the Scriptures: according to the words of Firmilianus Bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia to St. Cyprian, in the seventy-fifth of his epistles produced else-390 where 2: Non quasi à nobis remissionem peccatorum consequantur, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam delictorum suorum convertantur, et Domino plenius satisfacere cogantur. "Not as if they procured the pardon of their faults at our hands," saith he, "but that by us they may be converted to understand their faults, and constrained to make more full satisfaction to the Lord." How he meaneth that men are converted to acknowledge their faults to God by the means of His ministers is to be seen in Tertullian's words, Apologet., cap. xxxix., speaking thus of their assemblies; Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, siquis ità deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegetur : "There also are exhortations, reproofs, and the censure of God. For first, judgment is given with great weight, as among men assured of God's sight; and then it is the greatest prejudice of the judgment to come, if a man fail so as to be confined from the communion of prayers, and assemblies,

saith;—Cum ergo Apostoli et cæteri Ecclesiarum ministri Ecangelium Christi populis annunciant et proponunt, tum claves istas tractant, id est, cælum credentibus et vitam emendantibus aperiunt, non credentibus atque improbis claudunt. Claves ergo in hujus Evangelicæ prædicationis functione versantur, ex qua etiam censura Ecclesiastica Sacramentorumque administratio pendet.—Controv. iv. Q. 2. cap. v. p. 564. Genev. 1610. Cartwright thus :—"By binding and loosing are signified the same things that are marked by the keys....... There remaineth nothing here but to unsay

that which the Jesuits do say; and to deny that which they do affirm. The sum of which denial is, that the Pope hath nothing but that [which] all other Bishops [have], no, nor so much in this usurpation of his as others have, and they nothing but a ministerial power to pronounce those bound or loosed, whom the Lord, by the preaching of the word, hath before bound or loosed."—Annot upon St. Matth. xvi. 19. p. 83, A.D. 1618.

7 See Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect.

Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 2.

CHAP. and all holy commerce." It was not the mere preaching of the Scripture, and knowledge of the doctrine of it, that brought men to acknowledge their offences, according to Firmilianus.

§ 79. Tertullian shews it was the exhortations, the reproofs, the censures of the Church, that were employed to that purpose. By whom it followeth there; præsident pro-39 bati quique seniores: "The presidents are all the approved elders." The Bishop-whom we have seen him acknowledge elsewherea-and his presbyters. And in the same epistle of Firmilianus); Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia constituta sit, ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem: "All power and favour is estated upon the Church, the presidents whereof are the elders, which have power both to baptize, and to impose hands"-in penance-"and to ordain." It is the Bishop that writes this. The exhortations, the reproofs, the censures, by which men were brought to the sight and acknowledgment of their faults, and constrained to the due course of humiliation for procuring forgiveness, were ministered at their assemblies, but by the presidents.

[Of penance.]

§ 80. The means of forgiveness ministered in the discipline of penance consists in the party's repentance and the prayers of the Church. Penance was not prescribed in the ancient Church only to give satisfaction to the Church for the scandal of bad example: those that imagine this shall not take notice of any mention of it in ecclesiastical writers, but they shall find their mistake convinced: it was to appease the wrathe of God offended, and to recover His favour again, which is in Firmilianus' terms, "to make satisfaction to God;" not in 39 the senseless and impious sense of the now Church of Rome, to make Him recompense for the debt of punishment incurred, but according to the use of the word in good Latin, to appease His wrath with true sorrow, and with cordial contrition, to seek reconcilement. Imposition of hands was not used once, in pronouncing sentence of forgiveness; but always at public service, during the prescript time of penance, those of

Prim. Govern., chap. vii. sect. 4.
 Ep. lxxv. p. 221. ed. Oxon. Cited
 See Just Weights and Measures, chap. xii.
 chap. xviii.

that state, after the earnest prayers of the congregation for CHAP. their pardon, coming and kneeling afore the Bishop, holding his hands over their heads, with his blessing and prayers for that purpose, were dismissed afore the mysteries: this was called on their part ὑπόπτωσις or falling down, on his part χειροθεσία or imposition of hands in penance^d. In the ministry of these means of forgiveness the power of the keys is seen. In Rhenanus' argument to Tertullian's book de Pænitentiae are to be found divers remarkable things to this purpose, out of the Penitentials of Theodulphus of Orleans, and Theodore of Canterbury, out of St. Basil and Tertullian, that confession to God is that which cleanseth sin, but confession to the Church is to the purpose of learning the course men are to hold in seeking pardon, and obtaining the prayers 393 of the Church to that purpose.

§ 81. Besides this, I find that St. Cyprian hath placed the power of the keys in the Sacrament of Baptism. His words are these, Epist. lxxiii. Manifestum est autem, ubi et per quos remissa peccatorum dari possit, quæ in baptismo scilicet datur. Nam Petro primum Dominus—super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam, et unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit—potestatem istam dedit, ut id solveretur in cælis, quod ille solvisset in terris. "Now it is manifest where and by whom remission of sins may be given, I mean that which is given in baptism. For unto Peter—upon whom He built the Church, and from

peccata, Ea vero quæ Sacerdoti fit, docet qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata. Deus namque salutis et sanctitatis auctor, et largitor plerumque hanc præbet suæ pænitentiæ medicinam invisibili administratione, plerumque medicorum operatione.—Theodori Pænitentiale, p. 80. ed. Petit. Paris. 1677. Also in Gratian, de Pænit. dist. i. c. 90. where the gloss on Medicorum is Sacerdotum.

ΕΊ τι γέγονε παρά τὸ δέον μὴ ἐπικρυπτέσθω τὸ πλημμέλημα, ἀλλὰ τῷ κοινῷ ἐξαγγελλέτῳ, ὡς ἄν διὰ κοινῆς προσευχῆς θεραπευθῆ τὸ πάθος τοῦ συνενεχθέντος τῷ τοιούτῳ κακῷ.—S. Basil. Serm. Ascetic., tom. ii. p. 323. ed. Ben. The passage from Tertullian is quoted before in Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 3.

d See sect. 24.

^e Beati Rhenani in Tertulliani Opera Annotationes, p. 10. ad calc. Tertull. Opp., Franekeræ, 1597.—Confessio quam sacerdotibus facimus, hoc etiam nobis adminiculum adfert, quia accepto ab eis salutari consilio, saluberrimis pœnitentiæ observationibus, sive mutuis orationibus, peccatorum maculas diluimus.—Theodulf. Capitul. xxx. apud Sirmondi Opp. Var., tom. ii. col. 936. Paris. 1696. et Labbei, tom. ix. col. 191. ed. Venet.

Quidam Deo solummodo confiteri debere peccata dicunt, ut Græci. Quidam vero Sacerdotibus confitenda esse percensent, ut tota fere Sancta Ecclesia.... Apostoli institutio nobis sequenda est, ut confiteamur alterutrum peccata nostra, et oremus pro invicem, ut salvemur. Confessio itaque quæ soli Deo fit, quod est justorum, purgat

Ep. lxxiii. p. 201. ed. Oxon.

our Lord at first gave this power, that it should be loosed in heaven which he loosed on earth." And by and by afterwards: Unde intelligimus, non nisi in Ecclesia præpositis, et in Evangelica lege ac Dominica ordinatione fundatis, licere baptizare, et remissam peccatorum dare; "Whence we understand that it is not lawful but for those that are set over the Church, and founded upon the law of the Gospel, and the ordinance of our Lord, to baptize and give remission of sins;" to wit, as is given by the power which St. Peter received under the

figure of the keys of God's Church.

§ 82. I find further that Primasius, a scholar of St. Augustine's, seems to place the power of binding and loosing in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in Apocalyps. viii. 38. A thing 394 somewhat strange, to make the power of binding and loosing all one with the Sacraments: but that it is to be remembered that the judgment of the Church and the ministers of it goes before the ministering of them, to discern how fit they are for them that pretend, and to constrain them to the means which make them capable of forgiveness. It is no more than follows there in St. Cyprianh, speaking of rebaptizing those that returned from their heresies: Quapropter, qui fidei et veritati præsumus, eos qui ad fidem et veritatem veniunt, et agentes pænitentiam remitti sibi peccata deposcunt, decipere non debemus et fallere: sed correctos à nobis, ac reformatos, ad regnum cælorum disciplinis cælestibus erudire. "Therefore we that are over the faith and truth must not deceive nor cozen those that come to the faith and truth, and doing penance, desire their sins to be remitted, but instruct them, amended and reformed by us, to the kingdom of heaven, with heavenly discipline." They that returned from heresies sought remission of sins by repentance: his opinion was that it was not to be had without a second baptism: and the power of binding

his enim accepit Ecclesia omnem potestatem in cœlo et in terra, dum Dei sacrificium perfecit, offerente Domino se principaliter et exhibentibus Sanctis sua corpora hostiam vivam sanctam.—Primas. in Apocalyps., lib. iii. in Bibliothec. Patrum Maxim., tom. x. p. 310. Lugdun. 1677.

b Ep. lxxiii. p. 208, ed. Oxon.

Et accepit Angelus thuribulum et implevit illud ex igne aræ Dei, et misit in terram. Et accepit Dominus corpus suum, id est, Ecclesiam; et perficiendo Patris voluntatem, implevit illam ex igne aræ, id est, ex potestate solvendi atque ligandi quæ consistit in sacrificiis et propitiatione Dei. Hinc dicitur etiam, Qui facit Angelos suos Spiritus et ministros suos iguem ardentem. In

and loosing he makes to consist in prescribing repentance CHAP. and admitting them to baptism upon repentance.

§ 83. So that in some he shall seem most sufficiently to 595 comprise the whole charge of binding and loosing, that shall make it to consist in the ministry of those means which dispose men to be capable of remission of sins. In which regard the ministers of the Church shall be said, with as much propriety of speech, to remit and retain sins, to bind and loose, as the physician is said to cure those diseases in which he does no more but prescribe or apply the remedies. But no man doubts but this office, as it is appointed in respect of God to procure pardon, so is it in respect of the conscience to assure it: which assurance, as it is warrantable for them to give, that have seen the course performed which they are intrusted to prescribe, so is it due for him to receive that hath performed it.

§ 84. Suppose then we leave it questionable—as not to be disputed in this place-what sins are to come under the discipline of penance, either of necessity, or for a sure course of procuring their pardon: certain it is that the children of God do continually remember, with remorse and bitterness of spirit, the sins which they committed of old: and certain it is that men's daily offences are not capable of so solemn a cure: so great is the number of them that it is not possible for man's mind to attend them in particular. And as certain it is that there is no means so powerful to obtain pardon of 396 them as the daily prayers of the congregation to that purpose. So that the course which the Church prescribeth for the pardon of daily offences being put in practice, what can be more just, more due, than to declare that forgiveness which those that dissemble not, those that are as they pretend to be, do attain? What more comfortable than to hear the news of it from his mouth by whom the Church ministereth the office? What more seasonable than to do this before we come to praise God and hear His word, that we may persuade our hearts that He accepteth this service at the hands of them that hate not to reform themselves?

§ 85. In this consideration I must needs prefer the order of confesof this Church of England before that of other reformed sins and Churches, in that we put confession of sins in the first place absolution at the be-THORNDIKE. вЪ

CHAP, of our service, they refer it till after the Psalms, and the reading of the Scriptures, when the preacher goes up into the pulpiti. They reckon them, as needs they must, of the substance of their service. And Du Plessisk hath pleaded them, as he had reason, to shew that their service cometh nearer that of the primitive Church than the Mass: but beginning as they do, without solemn confession of sins before, they give the people occasion to esteem them otherwise than the service of God, as taken up merely to while out the time while the people assemble! Whereas the solemn beginning 397 of our service, with confession of sins, serves to put the people in mind that it is all the solemn service of God that follows, and of the attention of mind, and devotion of spirit which they owe it, by the preparation of confessing and putting away sins, requisite to make it acceptable. The more have they to answer for, that make it their employment to extinguish in the minds of the people that respect to this part of God's service, which the order of the Church hath laboured to procure, and with the blessing of God had procured, had not their peevishness been, that will not have God served, unless it be that way they like. Whatsoever honour the praises of God reverently and attentively performed might have yielded Him, whatsoever good fruit the learning of His Scriptures might have brought forth in His people, is with

i "The public worship beginneth with prayer, and reading some portion of Holy Scripture both of the Old and New Testament, which the people hear with attention and reverence, and after reading, the whole congregation joineth in singing some psalm. This reading and singing do continue till the preaching begin; at which time the minister having prefaced a little for quickening and lifting up the hearts of the people, first maketh a prayer for remission of sin, sanctification, and all things needful, joining also confession of sins and thanksgiving, with special relation to the hearers: after which in the forenoon is another psalm, and after the psalm a prayer for a blessing upon the preaching of the word."—The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland, pp. 15, 16. Edinburgh, 1641.

k See chap. x. sect. 5.

1 "The most of them [the Puritans]
that are but doctors—as they term

themselves—and readers of lectures in other men's charges, do seldom or never come to the service which is read in the church according to Her Majesty's laws; but under pretence of studying for their sermons, do absent themselves until service be done, or at the least almost finished, and then they come in, gravely I warrant you, and do go to this their own form of service."—Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 103. London, 1595, and 1640.
"Give leave to me, a poor minister of

"Give leave to me, a poor minister of God's Holy Word, to put you in mind of some errors in the public worship and service of God, as they call it, for which many of His Majesty's subjects have, and daily do, more and more, with grief of heart refrain from coming to the public worship and service of God, till the service be all read."—Certain Grievances worthy the Consideration of Parliament, p. 1. A.D. 1640. See chap. vi. sect. 16.

justice to be required at their hands, that have been the CHAP. means to intercept it, by the unjust disgrace which they have stuck upon the settled order of this service.

§ 86. Now as concerning the ancient and general course of God's praises, and reading the Scripture, it appeareth by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, that the order of reading the Scripture in the Church was arbitrary in their time, as ac-398 commodated to the condition of the times and occasions of their assemblies, by the guides of several Churches. The one of them saith that the Scriptures are read, μέχρις έγχωρεί, "as far as occasion serves:" the other's words are these, Apologet., cap. xxxix.: Coimus ad literarum Divinarum commemorationem, si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere. "We assemble to repeat the Scriptures of God"-not like those that will not assemble till they be read-"what the condition of the present times enforceth either to forewarn or to recognise." The order which is accommodated to the condition of the times, cannot be certain and appointed afore.

§ 87. The reason why a set order in these parts of public service is now preferred before the disposition of the guides of Churches from time to time, is the same for which men choose to live by positive law, rather than by the will of their rulers, though, if men were as they should be, it is manifest that they might cut straighter by the thread of justice, applying right reason to the case, than ruling their proceedings by a general that was not built upon the particular". The order might be better were it left to particular disposing, but the courses of the world enforceth to presume that it would be for the worse. Besides, in ecclesiastical matters by a set order we attain uniformity with other Churches, to help 399 towards the unity of the whole; we avoid disputes about what is most fitting, which in matters of this probable nature must needs be endless; we avoid jealousies and umbrages upon that which is not customable. What this amounts to, St. Augus-

m See the passage cited in chap. vi.

ought to read and what they ought to sect. 10.

"And contrary to the opinion of Bishop Jewel, who affirmeth that to limit and diet the people, what they people, what they people, what they begin to read and what they obgin to leave, was sometimes the superstitious discretion of the rabbies."—The Abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 1. A.D. 1641.

CHAP, tine's experience may teach us, Serm. cxliv.º de Tempore. Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos secundum omnes Evangelistas etiam passio legeretur: factum est: non audierunt homines quod consueverant, et perturbati sunt. "I had once a desire that every year the passion also"-as the resurrection, in Easter week-"should be read according to all the Evangelists: it was done: men heard what they had not wont to hear, and were troubled."

Our order of psalms and les-

§ 88. How unjust the charge of the Mass upon our service is, hath appeared in the first point of it: how untrue it is will appear in the next, that is, in the order of psalms and lessons at the daily morning and evening service. For, if because the Breviary and Mass contain a certain order of psalms and lessons for the service of God, therefore all orders of psalms and lessons to that purpose are derived from the Breviary and Mass, and chargeable with the corruptions of them; what shall become of the ancient Church before there was any such thing as Breviary or Mass, that is, either form of public service in the opinion of those that profess this, or, according to the truth, as the Mass importeth the corruptions 400 of public service? What shall become of the Church under the Apostles, when public service consisted of the same ingredients, as hath been shewed, and the order of them is no more than St. Paul's rule, "Let all things be done decently and in order?" but if the meaning of these clamours be to say that this same order of going over the Psalter once a month, at daily morning and evening service, of going over the Bible, or all the most convenient of it, once a year, is the order of the Breviary and Mass, it might concern all men either of honesty or shame, though not to look into the Breviary or Mass, of which they are so confident, yet to look upon the preface of this our service which they condemn without understanding, and think whether men of common sense would use all those excellent reasons to excuse the alteration of that course, which now they are accused for retaining q.

ficiorum. Then he recites the sub-stance of the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, Concerning the Service of the Church,—Liturgia Ecclesiæ An-glicanæ, si credere fas sit, revocata est

o Serm. cexxxii. In diebus Paschalibus, iii. tom. v. col. 980. ed. Ben.

P Chap, vi. sectt. 9—24.

Fateor breviora esse illorum Breviarium, Missale, Rituale, quam Ponti-

§ 89. But granting all to be true which is so apparently CHAP. false, were the Mass worse than it is, and all this the very order contained in it, is it possible that any man of judgment or conscience should think it enough to say that this or that is in the Breviary or Mass, and never trouble himself to shew that it is part of the corruptions which they contain? What 401 reason is there to prove that the order of the Psalter once a month is not for the service of God, and the edification of His Church? this Church abolisheth not the use of psalms to musical tunes, where they may have place in the course of our service. Is it demanded further, that the monthly course of the Psalter be abolished to make them room? If it be, the Church is bidden to loss, and the service of God shall suffer in it: the people is now more plentifully conducted to the knowledge of God, and His praises, according to His own word: then, the ruder sort shall have much ado to dream over a psalm, in a great deal of time, in a manner so far from that decency to which it pretendeth, as may be a just means to deaden the devotion of such as are not set upon a good edge.

§ 90. The answers of the people represent, in some sort, [Of chantthat most ancient and commendable fashion of antiphones, service.] and teach them their office, and conduct them to bear their part in the praises of God, not to sit by as hearers, where they are to be actors. And where that fashion may be represented to the truth, in the more skilful congregations of collegiate and cathedral Churches, what a strange prejudice is it that will not suffer reasonable persons to relish the advantage of it in the service of Godr! but all this affords no ground 402 to condemn the course of those more skilful congregations of collegiate and cathedral Churches, in singing the hymns

ad primam institutionem sed a quibus instituta fuerat, ostendissent. semper prætexunt omnes qui Breviaria reformant, se revocare ad primam institutionem. Bene est. Brevius est jam Breviarium et Missale Anglicanum quam olim fuit, at brevius tamen optandum.—Didoclav. Altare Damascen., p. 618.
Tertium quod damnamus, est can-

tus alternatus, cum in Horis Canonicis Psalmi alternatim per singulos versus

a psallentibus dicantur, quæ alternatio Antiphona vocatur... after describing the institution of this way of singing, he proceeds; Quisquis est author, institutum non est laudabile, quia non intelligitur plerumque materia, et qui canere debet et voce et corde, corde canit non ore ut debet, siquidem in hunc finem institutus cantus ut voce et cantu proferamus laudes Dei .doclay. Altare Damascen., pp. 490-1.

CHAP, with music, provided the congregation may understand and go along in their devotions. He that undertakes to do it shall be sure to run upon a rock from which he shall not come off without splitting, that is, the precedent of the public service of God in the temple. For let no man think that this is to be ranked with the figurative service of God, according to the ceremonial law: that he must leave to the inner court of priests; the praises of God are part of the perpetual service of God in spirit and truth, to last under the gospel, instituted and indicted by the prophets, ministers of that service, frequented by the Apostles, and a precedent for the Church, according to the rule of edification of it.

FOf cavils psalms,]

§ 91. I am ashamed to repeat here the needless quarrels translation with the old translation of the psalms in uses. Men seem now to be wise enough to see the shameless partiality which they contain, in that men should be so quick as to see so many faults in that, and pass by all the extreme barbarisms, the spurious additions, the false translations which the psalms in metre contain. I suppose the Church intends not to aver all that is read in the Church to be truly translated. If so, God help the universal Church when it had no Scripture of 403 the Old Testament, but the Greek, and the translations of it. Let them that find fault employ themselves, and all they can make, to translate but that one book of Psalms; if they put their work past a considerable number of just exceptions, I am ready to forfeit for one. It is sufficient to my understanding, and always was, that what is read in the Church is more fit for the edification of it than to go about to change it. And what interest hath any man not to desire change

but tell me what they think of Apocryphal books, publicly read in churches as if they were the Holy Scriptures What of the lame and incongruous, yea senseless translations of those sundry Scriptures with the Psalms?"—Christ on His Throne, case vi. pp. 26, 27. See a large collection of alleged mistranslations in a book with this title: A Defence of the Ministers' Reasons for Refusal of Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer and Uniformity, imprinted 1607.

[&]quot; Because many things therein contained are stumbling-blocks before the feet of many, such as these, the clogging it with ceremonies, and the often and impertinent reiterating of the Lord's Prayer, the ill translation of the Psalms, and other Scriptures."-Smectymnuus, chap. ii. quere i. p. 12.
"Seeing we are here fallen upon the

consideration or examination of the Service-book, let all wise-hearted and well-instructed scholars in Christ's school, that have learned the art of separating the precious from the vile,

in that point, but St. Augustine's experience alleged aforet, CHAP. non audierunt homines quod consueverant, et perturbati sunt?

§ 92. What will any man say now to the order of reading [Of readthe Scriptures once a year in the Church? shall this be the pocrypha.] thanks of the Church of England for renewing that religious order of the ancient Church, and providing a public course for the people to become acquainted with the Scripture, to say that it is out of the Breviary or Mass? the offence is, because some of the Apocrypha are read": before that offence had been taken, it should have been shewed that nothing but that which is inspired by the Holy Ghost should be heard in the Church. What then would a number of good sermons become, which, how good soever, no man dare say are inspired. Sure they that will advise with reason and con-404 science, not with prejudice, must enquire whether the reading of them promote or hinder the edification of the Church. In that respect, so far is it from me to put out some Apocrypha, that I would rather put in the first of Maccabees, as describing the fulfilling of some of Daniel's prophecies, and the then state of God's people.

§ 93. But is it from the Mass that the Church of England The serlearned to restore the sermon into the due place at solemn of our service? I should have thought it one of the abuses of the service. Mass, that whereas, by the universal custom of the Church, the place of it appeared, there the use of it was for the most part silenced. The good order of this Church, and the success God hath lent it, hath prevailed so far, that this apostolical order may be said to have recovered the ancient place and rank. As for the afternoon sermon's, I am yet to

t Sect. 87. and liturgy in general, this we say; In that by their liturgy they prescribe what and how much to read, at morn to their matins, at even &c., teaching the Church and ministry to pray by number, stint, and proportion, it is not only popish, but most frivolous and vain, disgracing and not instructing the Church and

ministry.
"In that by this their liturgy they prescribe unto the Church what Scriptures publicly to read, and when to read them, as these chapters and psalms at their matins before noon,

those at afternoon, &c., on all the days that they have public meetings and service through the year, and so from year to year; they thereby take from the Church the holy and free use both of the Scriptures and Spirit of

"In that they bring in and command the Apocryphal writings to be publicly read in the Church: they both main-tain and publicly teach the dangerous errors therein contained to the poisoning and subverting of the faith of the Church."—Greenwood's Refutation of Giffard, pp. 49, 50. A.D. 1591.

* The House of Commons on Mon-

by what command of Scripture, what rule or custom of the ancient Church it is pressed. Timothy is commanded to be instant in season and out of season, but to what purpose? to publish the word, to do the office of an evangelist, to win strangers to the faith. How can that be importune? so Paul preached at Troas till midnight. If that be our precedent, let us celebrate the Eucharist as those of the Church of Rome do, on Christmas-eve.

§ 94. There are examples of preaching as well evening as morning in the ancient Church, but at particular times, and on particular occasions: my question is, to shew me the place of the sermon in the afternoon service, as it hath been shewed in the morning service, otherwise not satisfied of any rule or custom of the Church. Not because men's laws are not a fence to God's law, and that it is not for the good of the Church the more it is frequented, as it ought, especially to the purpose that the people may sufficiently understand their profession, and the grounds of it: but because it is reason that the offices of the Church be practised with respect to opportunities and abilities, not in such sort as may neither advance the honour of God, nor of the profession which we make.

Of the Creed.

§ 95. We hear no news of new reasons against the Creed, for part of the service. It was a great work to settle such forms as might conclude, and confine, and bring to light the malice of heretics. The next work to that was to bring it into the service. So was it best commended to the knowledge, to the respect of God's people; which respect, had

day, July 12, 1641, ordered "That in all parochial Churches of England and Wales, where there is on the Lord's day no preaching in the afternoon, if the ministers will maintain a conformable lecturer at their own charge, the parson or vicar shall give way to it, unless he will preach himself."—Nal-

on, vol. ii. p. 383.

On the sixth of September, in the same year, it further ordered "That it shall be lawful for the parishioners of any parish in the kingdom of England or dominion of Wales, to set up a lecture and to maintain an orthodox

minister at their own charge to preach every Lord's day where there is no preaching, and to preach one day in every week where there is no weekly lecture."—Ib., p. 477. And two days after it ordered "That the Lord's day be duly observed and sanctified, all dancing or other sports, either before or after Divine Service, be forborne and restrained, and that the preaching of God's word be permitted in the afternoon, in the several churches and chapels of this kingdom, and that the ministers and preachers be encouraged thereunto."—Ib., p. 482.

it been preserved, this new varnish of old heresies, which CHAP. prevaileth so far abroad, is not like to have taken with the people.

406 § 96. What shall I say of the collects or prayers which the And Coldaily service concludes with? My proposition allows me not lects. to dispute the particular conceptions or terms in which they are expressed. But I must commend the order of answers of the people in all places of the service where it stands. It refreshes their attention; it teacheth them their part at public prayers, not to stand by and censure how well the minister plays the mouth of the congregation. If they be to act their part in it, the part assigned them in our service conducts them in doing their office. As for the subject of them, the occasions of several seasons and solemnities, protection against bodily and ghostly enemies, conduct of God's grace and providence, success of the rule of the commonwealth, and guidance of the Church, and the like; it is unknown to me, that any thing is more fit and requisite than these to be remembered at all public assembliesy. It hath been shewed that those prayers for all states and conditions of persons in the Church, which since have been called litanies, were from the beginning frequented at the solemn service of the Church, before the celebration of the Eucharist, and that it is like so to have been even under the Apostles'.

§ 97. Now though the condition of the Church be not for the present capable of so good and so excellent a custom as 407 the continual celebration of the Eucharist on Lord's days, yet was there great reason that the litanies should be prescribed on these days nevertheless, as the next member of the public service of God, observed from the beginning of the Church. And because they contain matter of supplication, for the diverting of God's judgments, and obtaining of

cujus occasione intermittant aut abrumpant actionem precandi, et tamen abrumpunt, et servatis suis pausis denuo incipiunt. Num πολυλογίαν vitare student in brevitate collectarum? At in earundem multiplicatione brevitatem prolixitate compensant. Ridicula est ista precandi forma, et inepta.

—Didoclav. Altare Damascen., p. 625

⁷ In ordine isto precum Matutinarum et Vespertinarum reprehensione digna sunt..... Quod breves precatiunculas quas collectas vocant, et quatuor aut quinque lineis seu versiculis absolvunt, triplicant ac non potius continuata oratione precantur. Finita una collecta cessant, et post modicum intervallum inchoant aliam, qua etiam finita post modicum itidem intervallum tertiam. Nulla alia intervenit actio,

See sect. 59.

CHAP. His blessings, nothing could be more suitable than to add them to the daily morning service on Wednesdays and Fridaysa, as the exercise of that continual humiliation before God to which the observation of these days was intended, to the unspeakable benefit of the Church, and the continual discharge of those most excellent offices of fasting, prayer, and alms among Christians.

[Of confession in the Eucharistic

§ 98. It is past mine apprehension to imagine wherein any man will pretend to fault the act of confession of sins in the public service of God, before celebrating and receiving the Eucharist. For if repentance be a disposition requisite to make men capable of the grace which it exhibiteth, shall it not be exercised at the public service of God, which our common profession acknowledgeth so necessary, rather than only presumed to be performed in particular? and if it prove by the verdict of all consciences to be darkened from time to time by the intercourse of daily offences, joined with unthankfulness and unfruitfulness, is not that order, for the 408 edification of the Church, which reviveth, and refresheth, and enlighteneth it, at so solemn an act of religious service as this?

§ 99. Sure I am, that whosoever will lay his hand upon an honest heart, shall not say that the form which we use is taken out of the Mass, when he considereth that which the reformation teacheth and professeth of free pardon of sins through Christ, to be so comfortably expressed in it. And seeing it hath been shewed aforeb, that in the practice of the ancient Church, to them which for notorious or acknowledged offences were under the state of penance, the means of forgiveness was partly ministered in the public prayers of the Church and the ministers of it, what can be more suitable to this prac-

In ordine isto precum Matutinarum et Vespertinarum reprehensione digna sunt quod feriis quartis et sextis, magis quam secundis, tertiis, quintis, litania et supplicationes cantandæ.-Didoclav. Altare Damascen., pp. 625.

Cur magis diebus Mercurii et Veneris obligantur, quam aliis temporibus, et ad Litaniam magis quam alias preces. . . . Sed ad officium feriale neminem invitum avocatione sua legitima abstrahendum sentio, nisi extraordinarium jejunii aut gratiarum actionis sabbatum indictum fuerit. Permisit enim Deus homini sex dies ad opera vocationis. Sed præcipuum quod hie reprehendo, est quod ordinaria illa Li-tania et ferialis diebus illis feria quarta et sexta recitanda est, ac si essent dies jejunii cum tamen reipsa non jejunent, nec ad Litaniam convocatur totus populus, sicut în jejunio fieri debet, si serio res ageretur.—Ib., p. 638.

b See Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect.

tice, and the grounds of it-on behalf of those that acknow- CHAP. ledge themselves sinners, but are not reduced by the Church under that discipline-than that prayer or blessing wherein he that celebrateth the Eucharist imploreth that grace on their behalf at God's hands? to me it seemeth, that the rehearsal of the decalogue in the beginning of that, which some still call the latter service, together with the answers of the people, craving pardon and grace to observe them for the future, is to the very purpose of this confession of sins, 409 and to actuate our repentance by calling to mind our offences by retail, though it is in the order of our service somewhat removed from it, as being thought fit, for other reasons, to be used when the Eucharist was not celebrated.

§ 100. Notwithstanding, were it left to my choice, I con- of the fess I should think the most proper place for this confession Communion Serof sins to be that which it holdeth in the first edition of vice and appuren-Edward VI., after the consecration of the elements, and be- ances of it. fore receiving them, with that prayer which beginneth "We do not presume" after the same : for the reason why it hath been otherwise ordered seemeth to have been to avoid offence, lest it might be thought to import transubstantiation, in those words spoken after consecration, "So to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His blood:" the cause of which offence, if any such may be imagined, seemeth to me utterly voided in the words added there, "So to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His blood in these holy mysteriesc."

§ 101. Thus much let me be bold to affirm, that it would be a great fault in the Church to celebrate this Sacrament without something answerable to that thanksgiving wherewith it was first instituted by our Lord, and practised by the whole 410 Church. Suppose it contain no mention of the creation, and

The prayer We do not presumebut without the words in these holy mysteries-was restored to its former place in the Scottish liturgy, where it follows the Lord's prayer after the prayer of oblation, and immediately before the communion. "The prayer which stands here [before the consecration, meaning We do not presume] in the English book,-drawn from the place wherein it stood of old in the

Mass to countenance the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood, but standing in this place before the consecration it is clear of all such suspicion. men are so bold as to transplant it from this good ground to the old wicked soil at the back of the consecration, where it [was] wont to stand before in the old Order of Sarum."- Ladensium Autokatakrisis, p. 107. A.D. 1641.

CHAP. the blessing of God's creatures, because, as hath been said, it seemeth to have been practised heretofore in relation to man's bodily sustenance, wherewith it was instituted and practised at the first: without thanksgiving for the redemption of the world it is not duly received; therefore with it it is duly celebrated. Of this thanksgiving for the redemption of the world there is due remembrance in the very end of the exhortation, from those words, "And above all things".... therefore it seemeth that the preface, wherein that thanksgiving is contained and expressed, after "Lift up your hearts," had followed very seasonably after remembrance of the cause and ground of it. But the substance of that which is done is always the

§ 102. Further, how little soever the grace of God's goodness depend on that which by man is ordered for the fittest, and though it is not pretended that any law of God in the Scriptures enacteth this Sacrament to be celebrated with that thanksgiving from which it is called the Eucharist, or that prayer for the effect of Christ's institution at the present, which is the close of it: yet since it hath been shewed that so this Sacrament hath been celebrated from the beginning of the Church, and that for so good reasons upon our Lord's example at the institution of it, and since this course so much concerns the edification of the Church, it seemeth altogether 411 requisite that the elements be not supposed deputed for such a blessing to the congregation by the mere act of receiving them to such purpose, but should be actually and formally deputed by remembering the institution of our Lord, and by the prayer of the Church, professing the execution, and begging the blessing of the same, which I suppose is called consecration among usd.

a The liturgy used when Thorndike wrote this book had no rubric directing the priest to place the elements on the Altar, nor was the word oblations in the prayer for the Church militant. The rubric before the prayer of consecration was this—"Then the priext standing up, shall say as followeth." There were also no directions as at present concerning the act of consecration, upon which Calderwood thus observes; Utrum vero, dum Deum alloquitur et recitat verba institutionis accipit panem

et poculum in manus, ut in canone Missæ præscribitur, ex liturgia Anglicana non satis liquet, nisi quod innuere videantur verba ista, has tuas creaturas, vel in manus sumere vel manibus extensis demonstrare.—Didoclav., Altare Damascen., p. 723. "The priest is ordained to place and to offer up the bread and wine upon the Lord's table." This is spoken of the Scottish liturgy, "that it may be ready for that service, just the popish offering in that place of the Mass, of the bread and wine, as a

§ 103. Gregory the Greate and Isidoref tell us that the CHAP. Apostles, and St. Peter by name, celebrated the Eucharist with the Lord's Prayer alone; but that "alone" must be understood to except other accessories to the manner of celebrating, consisting in the Eucharist or thanksgiving, whereof the prayer of consecration was the foot and close. Rabanus de Institutione Clericorum, lib. i. cap. 328. Cum benedictione enim et gratiarum actione primum Dominus corporis et sanguinis sui Sacramenta dedicavit, et Apostolis tradidit, quod exinde Apostoli imitati fecere, et successores suos facere docuerunt, quod et nunc, per totum orbem terrarum, generaliter tota custodit Ecclesia: "For our Lord at first initiated, and delivered to His Apostles the mysteries of His body and blood, with blessing and thanksgiving, which thence the Apostles imitated, and did, and taught their successors to do, and which now the whole Church generally observeth all the world over." That 412 which hath been said is enough to shew that it was always celebrated with this thanksgiving, the foot whereof, as hath been shewed, was the prayer of the Church for the effect of the institution of our Lord at the present.

§ 104. Where are they now that take upon them to say that all our service is taken out of the Massh? how will they

preparatory sacrifice for the propitia-tory following." And again; "They make an express rubric for the priest's taking of the paten and chalice in his hand in the time of consecration, which taking not being either for his own participation or distribution to others, shall we not understand the end of it to be that which the Mass there enjoins the paten and chalice—their elevation and adoration."—Ladensium Autokatakrisis, chap. vii. p. 101 and p. 108. And in another place, p. 104; "In the canon there are two parts most principle which the Panieta call the heart pal, which the Papists call the heart and head thereof-the prayers of consecration and oblation; this head the English strikes off, this heart they pull out of their book, that the wicked serpent should not have any life among them." This explains Thorndike's "I suppose."

Corationem vero Dominicam idcirco

mox post precem dicimus; quia mos Apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsum solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconveniens

visum est ut precem quam Scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit, super ejus corpus et sanguinem non dicere-mus. Sed et Dominica Oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo Sacerdote.—S. Gregor. Magn. Ep. xii. ad Johann. Syracusan., tom. ii. col. 940. ed. Ben. See also

Epilogue, book iii. chap. iv.

Ordo autem Missæ, et orationum quibus oblata Deo sacrificia consecrantur, primum a Sancto Petro est institutus, cujus celebrationem uno eodemque modo universus peragit orbis.—S. Isidor. Hispalens. de Eccles. Offic., lib. i. cap. xv. tom. vi. p. 379. Romæ. 1802.

* Apud. Hittorp. de Divin. Eccles. Catholic. Offic., col. 564. Paris. 1610.

h Prima pars libri Liturgiæ Anglicanæ respondet Breviario Romano, quo

continetur officium horarium, seu precum Matutinarum et Vespertinarum. In Breviario Romano habent septem horas Canonicas, Angli tantum duas, Matutinarum et Vespertinarum nempe CHAP. discharge themselves in this most eminent point; or how will they be able to digest this untruth, which the least insight of the Mass will thrust down their throat? The form of the Mass was related afore. Ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi; and it was shewedi that transubstantiation is not contained in these words: nevertheless, because there might be offence taken at the words, upon the sense of those that use them, we see them altered into those terms wherein the truth of that which is done is most excellently expressed, to the intent of the Scripture, and true sense of the primitive Church, in these words, "Hear us, O merciful Father;" and those which follow. In like sort, because the very term of offering and sacrifice, though used with a far other meaning than the Church of Rome professeth, seemeth to sound their meaning, it is not only removed out of the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Churchk, but the prayer itself removed, to stand afore the 41 consecration, as we conjectured1 it did stand in the African

precum. Officium habent sicut Pontificii, ordinarium et proprium de tempore. Nam habent proprias lectiones diebus dominicis et aliis solemnioribus. Officii horarii partes sunt sententiæ breves sacræ Scripturæ, confessio, absolutio, preces, psalmi et cantica, lectiones ex Scriptura et libris Apocryphis, collectæ aliæque orationes et preces.—Didoclav. Altare Damascen., p. 624.

1 Sect. 57.

k In the first liturgy used in the reign of Edward VI. the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church came after the preface, and was succeeded immediately by the prayer of consecration, which was not concluded with Amen, but followed by a prayer beginning "Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father," something like that which in the present liturgy begins "O Lord, and heavenly," after the Lord's prayer. In the second liturgy—used in Thorndike's day—the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church was at the beginning of the service, as it is now—and at the Restoration the word oblations was inserted in it. In the Scottish liturgy the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church has the same place that it has in the modern English, but the words in the prayer of

consecration—partly recited in the text
—were as follows, slightly different
from what they were in the first English liturgy: Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, and
of Thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe so
to bless and sanctify with Thy word and
Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may
be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy
most dearly beloved Son, so that we receiving them according to Thy Son...
These alterations were disagreeable to
the Presbyterians. "Of all the limbs
of the Mass, the most substantial for
many evil qualities are those three
which lie contiguous together, the Offertory, the Canon, the Communion...
The Popish Offertory in itself is a foul
practice.... This piece of the Mass
the English did clean abolish, but behold how much of it our present reformers are pleased to replant in our
book.... The English prayer for the
Catholic Church is in our book cast
immediately at the back of the offering
of bread and wine, and that we may
know it must be taken for the offeriory
prayer that stands there in the Missal,
and that for the benefit not only of the
living but also of the dead."—Ladens.
Autokat., pp. 100—102.

1 See seet. 62.

Churches, and not after it, to give opinion that Christ, pre- CHAP. sent by consecration, was sacrificed then for the quick and dead, as the Church of Rome imagineth.

§ 105. Of the rest of the service of the Eucharist I shall need to say nothing, having shewed that in the ancient Church, as with us, the time of communicating was transacted with psalms^m after that thanksgiving, the dismission upon that. The people is dismissed with the blessing in our service, as in the most ancient form related in the Constitutions of the Apostles; and so in the reformed Churches of France, though they use that of Moses, still frequented by the synagogue. In the service prescribed for Lord's days and festivals, when the Eucharist is not celebrated, it is not strange if something be added above the ordinary course to make it more solemn, though it had been rather to be wished that the world were disposed for the true solemnity of it".

§ 106. Is the voice of the law, calling us to mind our offences, and moving to crave pardon and grace for the future, nothing to the service of God? The lessons of the Epistles and Gospels belong indeed to the first part of the service, as hath been shewedo; but shall we take them to 4 come from the Mass, where they are last found, or from St. Hierome, from whom they seem first to have come ? And was it not convenient in them to remember what the Church celebrateth at several seasons and solemnities of the year? and to promote the edification of the Church, and instruction of the people in the mysteries of the faith, by giving preachers a subject of their sermons suitable to those solemnities. Last of all, though the world is not disposed to the continual celebration of the Eucharist, yet was it requisite, in reverence to the Apostle's order, and the universal practice of the Church, that the prayer for all states of the same should be used at almost all solemn assemblies, which because it always went

m Sect. 71.

n Canunt vel recitant offertorium, etiamsi nullus adsit qui offerat. Nam nulli offerre debent secundum ritum veterum, nisi qui communicaturi sunt. Si nulli adsunt communicantes nihil offertur, et tamen hic dicitur post Offer-Et ista-Here he quotes the first rubric at the end of the commu-

nion office. Hic habemus missam siccam; nam licet non celebrent singulis festis sacram cœnam, collectas Missæ diei festi recitant, et umbram sine corpore habent, ut supra dictum.—i. e. in p. 719.—Didoclav. Altare Damascen., p. 725. See sect. 20.

P See sect. 13.

CHAP, along with the Eucharist, as it is used, serves to put us in - mind what is wanting.

§ 107. In fine, though all forms of service devised by men must needs remain disputable, and happy it is when so they are but upon slight matters, so my hope is that from hence will appear that the form which we use deserves this commendation, that it is possible to alter it for the better, but easy to alter it for the worse. Thus far upon the principles propounded in the beginning, of things remembered in the Scripture concerning the public service of God, and the most ancient and general practice of the Church to expound them. I have discoursed the substance and form of God's public 416 service at solemn assemblies for that purpose, the circumstances of it, and the particular form which we use. Of the rest of ecclesiastical offices, and the course we use in them, it was not my purpose to say any thing at the present: in which, nevertheless, the reasons hitherto disputed will easily take place, to shew both that it is for the edification of the Church that the performance of them be solemn and by prescript form, and that the form which we use is exceeding commendable.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW THE FORM OF PUBLIC SERVICE IS ORDERED. DEPENDENCE OF CHURCHES IS FROM THE APOSTLES, FOR THAT AND OTHER PURPOSES. HOW THE PREACHING OF LAYMEN IMPORTS SCHISM. THE GOOD OF THE ORDER OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

How the ordered.

And now, without further dispute, it is to be seen what is public ser- prescribed concerning the public service of God in the Scriptures, and what is left to be ordered by human appointment. The particular offices whereof it consisteth—of public prayers and the praises of God-of reading and expounding the Scriptures—of the celebration of the Eucharist, and the rest, are prescribed and recommended to the Church in the rules 41 and practice of Holy Scripture. The order and form in which they are to be performed is acknowledged on all hands that it ought to be prescript, yet is it nowhere prescribed in

^q Præscriptas verborum formulas in habuisse ex sacra Scriptura colligi non liturgia Ecclesias Apostolorum sæculo potest, præter verba determinata a

the Scriptures, but left to human ordinance: that which is to CHAP. be preached is acknowledged on all hands to be referred for the most part to the private endeavours of particular persons': not in respect to any immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, otherwise to be quenched, but because it is the ordinary means to instruct and admonish whole congregations in that which most concerneth them of the knowledge and doctrine of the Scriptures. Public prayers, some think, are to be ministered according to the disposition and discretion of particular guides of particular congregations, by virtue of the Apostle's ordinance, forbidding to quench the Spirit*. Heret it is proved that, because it is confessed that the grace of praying by immediate inspiration is not now extant, therefore the purpose of this ordinance ceaseth, and that the ordinary rule of the edification of the Church to be attained by the order and comeliness of these things which are done at public assemblies, is followed to far more purpose in the use of a form prescript and uniform.

§ 2. It is further here to be observed, that whatsoever may Depend-417 concern the honour of God, the unity of the Church, the churches truth of religion, and the recommendation of it, is most effec- is from the Apostles, tually to be procured—as procured it was from the beginning for that of our faith—by the dependence of Churches, visibly derived purposes

Christo in Baptismo et sacra Cœna . . . An nullas, inquies, probabo liturgias ?
Absit. Nam liturgiæ publicæ partes et exercitia sunt precari, psallere, scripturas legere, et interpretari ac tractare, sacramenta administrare, quæ qui sublata vellet, Dei cultum sublatum cupit. Præterea probamus præ-scriptum ordinem harum partium, tum per se, tum inter se, ut omnia fiant ordine et decenter in ecclesia Pro-bamus etiam illa orationum et admonitionum exemplaria, qua habentur in liturgiis nostris, dummodo tradantur ut exemplaria non ut præscripta quibus præcepto astringendus minister.-Didoclay. Altar. Damascen., p. 615.

r "Studied sermons are of another

nature. It is an ordinance of God that sermons should be studied before preached. Jude made it his whole study, πῶσαν σπούδην, to write his Epistle, Jude 3. How much more ought we to make it our whole study to preach, who are not so immediately inspired.

Solomon gave good heed, and sought out to find and set in order fit words and matter for the edification of the people, Eccles. xii. 9, 10. And behold less than Solomon are ministers here, though in respect of the clear discern-ing the mysteries of Christ the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than Timothy is exhorted to give attendance to reading."—Cotton's Answer to Ball's Discourse of Set Forms of Prayer, p. 3. London, 1642.

"A true minister of Christ ought

not to be tied with the bonds and lines of a written form of prayer that must be read, for as much as hereby the spirit of prayer in him is bound up, and both he and the people of God deprived both of the benefit of such a gift, and of that profit also which the prevailing prayer of Christ's Spirit procures of God."—Christ on His Throne, case vii. p. 32. See the notes to chap. vii.

¹ See chap, vii. sectt. 3-12,

THORNDIKE.

CHAP, from the appointment and ordinance of the Apostles, It hath been declared ", that according to that which was done by Barnabas and Paul ordaining presbyters through the Churches, Acts xiv. 23, according to that which Titus is instructed to ordain presbyters through the cities, Titus i. 5, that is, colleges of presbyters to order the Churches founded in populous cities, so throughout the whole Christian world were all Churches of cities thought meet for their greatnesswhether instituted by the Apostles, or propagated thence-[to be] governed by presbyters or colleges of presbyters, the heads whereof were Bishops, in succession to the Apostles. We know the Gospel attained to the countries and territories lying under these cities, upon the preaching of the Apostles: the Scripture saith, Acts xiii. 49, upon the first preaching of Paul and Barnabas, "The word of the Lord was dispersed all over the country:" and Clemens, disciple of the Apostles, Epist. ad Corinth.*, Κατά χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ Πνεύματι, εἰς Έπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. "Preaching therefore through cities and countries, they made the first-418 fruits of them, trying them by the Spirit, Bishops and deacons of such as should believe," speaking of the Apostles and their time: and we are ready to believe that congregations might be planted in these countries and territories during their time, though we read nothing of it here, and the division of titles and Churches, that is, city and rural congregations, in the Church of Rome, is assigned in the Popes' Lives to a far later time than this y.

shewed," saith Cartwright in his reply to Whitgift, "and the matter is plain, that the Lord divided national Churches into parishes and congregations, so that if St. Paul have not the word of parish, yet he hath the thing."—A Reply to an Answer of Dr. Whitgift, p. 50. Upon which Whitgift asks, "Where hath the Lord divided national Churches into parishes and congregations?"—Defence, p. 250. Cartwright, in reply, saith, "It is manifest these divisions were before the Monks' time, yea, before the Apostles' time:" but at the same time seems to withdraw from his first assertion, for thus he quotes his own words repeated by Whitgift—" He

Prim. Govern., chap. iii. sect. 2.

* Cap. xlii. p. 170. ed. Coteler.

Quoted before in Prim. Govern., chap.
vii. sect. 3.

P In the Life of Evaristus, who was Pope in the year 100, we read, Hic titulos in urbe Roma divisit presbyteris.

—Labbei, tom. i. col. 533. And of Dionysius, who was made Pope A.D. 259, Hic presbyteris Ecclesias divisit et cometeria parochiasque et dioceses constituit.—Ib., col. 847. ed. Venet. The Puritans, however, had a different doctrine about the original of parishes, probably derived from a passage in Calvin's Institutions strictly interpreted, lib. iv. cap. iv. 2. "I have

§ 3. But do we not know that according to the general CHAP. and primitive custom of the Church these rural congregations received their ministers from the mother-Churches in which Churches their ordinations were made? Doth it not appear to common the examsense, that the form of God's public service, as it hath been ple of the described—uniform in the main ingredients from the begin- Church.] ning, unconformable in particulars of less moment—was practised by particular congregations according to their mother-Churches? Doth not the distinction of dioceses, or, as they were first called, παροικίας, habitations adjoining to chief cities, received in all parts of the Church, proclaim that the institution and appointment of it cannot have been accessory and particular, but universal and primitive? And what cause have we to doubt that the Holy Ghost, directing the Apo-419 stles, should move them to that course which, according to the condition of the world, must needs be most reasonable? Or who can doubt that, according to the condition of the world, it is most reasonable to presume that frequent and populous residences must needs be furnished of men of best abilities, and means to know the right course of ordering public matters of the Church, for most advantage to the truth of religion, the peace of the Church, and the service of God, rather than that vulgar and rude congregations, inflamed with the ignorance and malice and overweening of unable guides, should choose for themselves, not only in things necessary for their own souls' health, wherein all have their due interest, but in things concerning the general state of the Church, which they are neither bound nor able to understand.

§ 4. I must confess to have written heretofore, that in the [All preachers time of the Apostles the work of preaching seemeth to have were not gone rather by men's abilities than their offices: and now I originally hope, in good time, having declared here several regards in ters.] which this is verified. It hath been shewed that of the same ecclesiastical order, the same bench of the Church, some presbyters exercised the abilities of preaching, some not. It hath been shewed that the rank of prophets furnished by the immediate inspiration of God, for the more plentiful per-

[All preachers were not

asketh' where it appeareth that the Scripture divided national Churches."
—Second Reply to Whitgift's Second Answer, p. 360.

^{*} Prim. Govern., chap. ix. sect. 4.

^{*} Chap. iv. sect. 38.

b Chap. iv. sect. 45, and chap. v.

CHAP, formance of that work in the beginning of the Gospel, cannot be thought to have been the same with that of presbyters. And if any man stand upon it, it shall not trouble me to vield that which Grotiusc of late hath observed, and under the Church of Rome, Ferrarius de Ritu Concionum, ii. 6d, that in the primitive times of the Church laymen were licensed to preach by the Bishops of Churches, according to the instances alleged in the letter of the Bishops of Palestine to Demetrius of Alexandria, in Origen's case, related by Eusebius; for it seemeth most agreeable to the succession of scribes after the prophets in the synagogue, seeing it is neither reasonable to conceive that scribes were denied this office when they were found fit, nor that those to whom it was granted were all elders of synagogues. And by this an easy reason is given how our Lord and His Apostles are admitted to speak in the synagogues, as licensed and invited by the elders and rulers of them according to the Scripture, Acts xiii. 14. And perhaps the custom might remain in the Church after prophetical graces for the instruction of it were ceased, that those which had the knowledge of the Scriptures without inspiration should be admitted to speak to the people.

[Mechapreached

§ 5. But what is all this to these mechanic persons that 421 make themselves Churches, and the Churches them their among the ministers, without education, without calling, without acknowledgment of one Church of God? They please themselves in observing that St. Paul used his trade while he preached

p. 29. Londini, 1679.

c Neque mirari debemus si Christo permissum est in synagogis verba ad populum facere. Solebat enim ab ar-chisynagogis is honos deferri viris gravibus et non ineruditis, ut nos docet historia quæ est Actorum xiii. 15 Mansit is mos aliquamdiu in Ecclesia Christiana, ut concessu Episcoporum Scripturas interpretarentur, non Presbyteri tantum aut Diaconi, sed et ol της χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότες, ii quibus manus nondum impositæ erant. Vide Eusebium qui Origenis aliorumque exemplo probat λαϊκούς δμιλείν ουκ ανέθιστον non esse præter morem ut προεστώτος επιτροπή permissu præsidis quo et illa spectant quæ leguntur, 1 Corinth. xiv. 29.—Comment. in S. Matth., cap. iv. 23. Grotii Opp. tom. ii.

d Quamvis igitur satis constet lai-cos, et monachos etiam, quod e laico-rum numero essent vetitos olim publice concionari, negari tamen non potest quin iisdem licuerit interdum . . disserere ipso tamen jubente vel permittente Episcopo Posterius vero fit ex eo perspicuum, quod, cum primis Ecclesiæ temporibus pauci essent presbyteri, et sæviente persecu-tione haud ita facile reperirentur idonei homines aliquibus laicis id muneris assignabant aliquando Episcopi.— Ferrar., pp. 116, 117. Mediolan. 1620. See Eusebius' Eccles. Hist., lib. vi. cap. 19. p. 222, ed. Vales. Ferrarius, however, does not quote Eusebius, but Nicephorus Callistus.

the Gospel, as they do: and in that perhaps there is as much CHAP. mistake as in the rest. For it is not all one for a preacher to be bred to a trade from his youth, and for him that is bred to a trade from his youth to become a preacher when he pleasese. To me there is so much difference that I yield the one to be St. Paul's case, as the world sees the other to be theirs.

§ 6. It is observed in Scaliger's Elenchusf and elsewhere, [The case that St. Paul in that particular made use of his education Paul. 1 under Gamaliel, in regard it was the custom of their doctors to breed their scholars to a trade, as well as to the knowledge of the law, which they were to profess. And there is a saying among them in Pirke Aboths, of this tenor to my remembrance; "Always with the law let a man learn the way of the earth;" the meaning is, "a trade for his maintenance." Hereupon it is ordinary for their rabbies to be sirnamed by their trade. And in Maimoni, Talmud Torah, cap. iii.h, you have divers sayings of their ancient doctors, that with the law a man is to practise a trade for his maintenance, as this; 422 "All law," that is, all learning of the law, "with which there is not work, in the end comes to nothing, and draws on naughtiness, and the end of such a man is, he falls to rob creatures." And in cap. ii. afore, "He that exercises a trade with the study of the law, must spend three hours of the day

" It is fitter for well meaning Christians than for ill meaning Christians, for well meaning Christians be the fittest on the earth to make Churches and to chuse their officers; whether they be tailors, felt-makers, button-makers, tent-makers, shepherds, or ploughmen, or what honest trade soever, if they are well meaning Chris-tians; but ill meaning priests are very unfit men to make Churches, because what they build up with one hand they pull down with the other. Further, you seem to fear the spreading of here-sies, if there be not a hindrance of these assemblies, but you should rather fear that your own glory would be eclipsed by their gifts and graces; for they are not men of so mean parts as you would make them: but are able to divide the Word of God aright by the Spirit that God hath given them."—Katherine Chidley's Justification of the Independent dent Churches, pp. 22, 23. London,

"And supposing such parts, gifts, and abilities fit for those duties; they conceive no man may upbraid them with poverty, or former living in a trade; which yet they think not alto-gether incompatible to preaching, for they have read of St. Paul, and others, intermixing his sermons with making of tents."—Lord Brooke's Discourse of Episcopacy, p. 106. London, 1642.

Propterea artem discebant, ne mer-cedem a discipulis acciperent. Dictum de Rabbi Jose, Rabbi Jose erat concinnator coriorum, quod maxima pars Sa-pientum aliquam artem habebat, ne ab aliis fructum ullum perciperet. Apostol. Act. xx. 34. Ταις χρείαις μου και τοις αδσι μετ' έμοῦ ὑπηρέτησαν αἰ χεῖρες αδται.—Elenchus Trihæresii Serarii, cap. xiv. pp. 87, 88. Francker. 1605. 5 Capita Patrum, cap. ii. 2. Suren-

hus., tom. iv. p. 413.

b De Doctrina Legis, ed. Carpzov.

p. 22. Lipsiæ. 1674.

CHAP, at his trade, and nine at his study," which are divided as it follows there. The knowledge then of these abilities, to which this education tended, taken according to public order of that time, and the exercise of them for the public instruction of the people, allowed according to the same, seem to contain sufficient warrant of human calling, to speak to the people in the Church, in them that were not ministers

[Laymen

§ 7. St. Ambrose in Eph. iv. 11, 12. Ut ergò cresceret preached under the plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare, et baptizare, et Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare. "That the people of believers might increase and multiply, in the beginning it was granted to all to preach the Gospel, and to baptize, and to expound the Scriptures in the Church." There is a difference between that which he calleth preaching the Gospel, and expounding the Scriptures in the Church, though both are called preaching among us: for it is one thing to publish the Gospel where there is no Church, another to minister the doctrine of the Scriptures where there is J. The Scripture witnesseth that those which 423 were dispersed upon the persecution raised about Stephen, did the one without difference, Acts viii. 4; xi. 19. It is no more than all Christians must do, so far as they hold themselves able to advance the faith. As for expounding the Scriptures in Churches settled, where order took place, in that also St. Ambrose's words may be verified, that it was granted to all, that is, to all conditions, whether ministers of Churches or not: but no otherwise granted than hath been said, upon knowledge of competent abilities, according to the practice of public order, derived, as it seems, into the Church from the synagogue.

[But afterwards re-strained.]

§ 8. But doth this fault the public order of this time, that confineth the public exercise of this office to the public ministries of the Church? The course of education being open to all, and the performance of that course proved and presumed according to public order, of all that pretend to these ministries, the ministries of congregations being furnished by that public order, to authorize others in congrega-

¹ Quoted before in Prim. Govern., J See Right of the Church in a chap. ix. sect. 5. Christian State, chap. iii. sectt. 16, 18.

tions so appointed would be to choke the edification of the CHAP. Church, by setting up perpetual emulation and difference. -But how eminent soever men's abilities are, how well soever known to themselves or the world, to undertake the instruc-424 tions of the people without public order in public assemblies, is a thing that no Scripture, no time, no custom of the primitive Church will allow. To tread all that learning under foot, without which the knowledge of the Scriptures is not to be had upon human endeavours, to undervalue the abilities of a learned agek, in comparison of the boldness of mechanic persons, in spending the mouth without sense underneath, seemeth to be the wantonness of this time, for after ages to admire.

§ 9. But for private persons, against public order, and the How the unity of the Church, to call such assemblies, and to exercise of laymen these pretended abilities in such assemblies as public order imports schism. forbiddeth, is neither more nor less than schism; let them that do it advise at whose door the sin of that schism lieth. For the public profession of this Church is the same that hath been proved, these so many years, to contain no cause of separation in it: and these that separate are so far from setting a-foot new, or from proving old charges, that they seem to be yet to learn whether there be any such thing as proving that which they say, or not. The unity of the Church is a thing commanded by God, and the divisions that shall arise in the Church, are a thing foretold by God: He that hath foretold that divisions shall come, hath commanded 425 that they shall not come: to me it seems a strange reason!

k "Such as are taught by the Spirit of God, destitute of human learning, are the learned ones that truly understand the Scriptures according to Peter's mind; I say, such as are taught by the Spirit, without human learning, are such persons as rightly understand the word Another reason why such as have God's Spirit, destitute of human learning, come thus to know God's mind, is that, as the Apostle declares, no flesh should rejoice in God's pre-sence. Now this learning is but fleshly and carnal.'—The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching without Human Learning, by Samuel How, A.D.

1 The Independents seem to have

reasoned in this way against the Presbyterians; "We hold communion and consociation of Churches for counsel in doubts, and comfort in distress. This communion of Churches doth no less-if not more-prevent heresies, schisms, injustice than your presbyteschisms, injustice than your presbyterial. Nor can you shew reason to the contrary. And yet would you have our Churches more perfect than those of the Apostles' own planting and gathering, as to be altogether exempted from heresies, schisms, injustice? Did not the Apostle tell the Church of Corinth, 'there must be heresies even among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest?' And could those primitive Churches after the

CHAP. because God hath foretold that heresies shall come in, for men therefore to set open the door, and for public order to take a course, by the independence of Churches, to allow as many religions as conventicles m.

§ 10. The dependence of particular congregations upon Churches depend on episcopal Churches, for the original, relateth to the instituthe cathedral.] tion of the Apostles, for the end, to the unity of the Church: the dependence of these Bishop's Churches upon the seats of metropolitans and patriarchs, acknowledgeth a mere human original from the state of the Roman empire, and the residence of the chief powers of it, but not with respect to the Gospel first planted, according to the precedent of the Apostles, in the most eminent cities, and thence derived into the countries about": but relateth to the same end of one Church,

> Apostles preserve themselves from heresies?"—Burton's Vindication of heresies?"—Burton's Vindication of Churches called Independents, pp. 18,

19. London, 1644.

" " A true Church of Christ is a congregation of true believers, men and women, who by the word of God preached, are separated from the world, and the reigning lusts thereof, and de-clared to be such by the open profes-sion of Christian life conformable thereunto. Such is a particular visible true Church or congregation, and so is, as far as we can judge, a true branch of the Holy Catholic Church which is inwisible, comprehending the number of God's elect, and is apprehended only by faith, and not by sight. Now every such particular congregation as afore-said, consisting of professed believers of the known truth of God, according to which they frame their life and conversation, is in itself an absolute Church, whose only governor for matters of faith and the true worship of God is Jesus Christ. . . . No power on earth hath any authority to prescribe laws for the government of this Church, whether for doctrine or discipline, whether for faith or worship, but only Christ, whose faith or worship, but only Christ, whose written word and law . . . all princes . . . are bound to see well observed both by ministers and people . . . Ministers are all of equal authority, not one over another, nor one over many, nor many over one, each being in his place and peculiar congregation under Christ alone, as the king of His Church, to whom he is accountable: and under whom he is accountable; and under

Christ to the civil magistrate as being a subject. Some are of opinion that a synod hath authority to bind particular Churches to such rites as they shall prescribe, and impose. And they allege that synod or assembly of the Apostles, Acts xv.... Hence they conclude that a synod collected of the Churches hath power over particular Churches but this act of the Apostles is no precedent or pattern for succeeding ages."—Christ on His Throne, case xi. pp. 52—56.

Becclesias ad exemplum Romani imperii per provincias ab Apostolis ita tributas fuisse, ut inter fratres, ejus Episcopi prima sententia haberetur cui a subject. Some are of opinion that

Episcopi prima sententia haberetur cui metropolitanæ urbis Episcopatus concreditus fuisset, absque ullo negotio probari potest. Sane apud veteres summa ratio habita fuit earum Ecclesiarum quæ ab ipsis Apostolis institutæ sincerius fidei traditiones conservasse censebantur. Verum non im-moror huic privilegio. In id enim duntaxat impræsentiarum claboro, ut pateat veterum testimonio Ecclesiarum per provincias divisionem ab Apostolis fluxisse.... Verum etsi forma dividendarum provinciarum et metropoleon ab Apostolis manaverit; hæe tamen divisio ab Episcopis qui erant in majoribus urbibus constituti per incrementa variorum temporum aucta, tandem ultimam dispositionem consecuta est. Unde profectum ut celebriorum civitatum Episcopi jus quoddam exi-mium in cæteras Ecclesias adepti fuerint, quod ei privilegio respondet, quo

as procuring the actual correspondence of all the members CHAP. of it. Since religion is become part of the state of several kingdoms and commonwealths, they are not to receive from one another the laws that enforce the exercise of it; but it is requisite that the exercise of it through each kingdom and commonwealth be uniform, by ecclesiastical rules, advised by each Church, and enforced by each kingdom and common-426 wealth°, the dependence of particular congregations upon episcopal Churches, in the exercise of religion according to such rules, continuing inviolable, as the institution of the Apostles.

§ 11. Now regard we the truth of religion, regard we the The good peace of the Church, regard we the honour and glory of God, of the order of and the credit of our profession towards such as are without, public this dependence of Churches is not more effectual in any point of religion than in the uniform and prescript form of God's public service. What means is there so effectual to convey and settle the truth professed in the minds of all people, than to glorify God in it, and according to it, in the continual exercise of His service? What means so powerful to obtain the peace of the Church from God, to preserve it with men, as to join in the same uniform service of God for the purpose? As for the honour of God, and the commendation of that profession which we make, let common reason not possessed with prejudice be judge, whether the voluntary extemporary conceptions of particular ministers of congregations, or the forms maturely advised by the most able, shall prove the more probable means to procure it.

§ 12. Let the public exercise of religion consist in speaking to the people more than men have learned of the knowledge of the Scriptures, in permitting men to vent their own passions, 427 or perhaps factions, for the devotions of their people, for their prayers and thanksgivings to God: let the preacher's office consist in speaking by measure of time, not by weight of matter; let it consist rather in the exercise of the lungs than of any knowledge in the Scriptures: let the hearer's office consist in patience of sitting still so many glasses, or

ratione originis potiuntur erga colonias lib. i. cap. iii. §§ 2, 4, 5. p. 9. Paris, a se deductas eæ urbes, quæ inde Matres appellantur a veteribus.—Petri de Marca, de Concord. Sacerd, et Imper., Christian State, chap. i. sect. 10. THORNDIKE.

o See the Right of the Church in a



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CHAP. rather in censuring the preacher's abilities, in praying as well as in preaching—for to that the office of praying in the Church may come: and those that are affected to the profession with the best, shall be forced for love of truth to lament that it is so much scandalized and hindered by them that pretend to advance it. But let the praises of God, the hearing of His Scriptures read and expounded, the common prayers of the Church, and the celebration of the Eucharist, be performed with that discretion for the order, with that choice for the substance, with that reverence for the outward visage and fashion of what is said and done respectively at each of these parts of God's public service, and let not me doubt that God the author, and men strangers to our profession, shall join in making good and acknowledging that of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 25, that God is among us of a truth.

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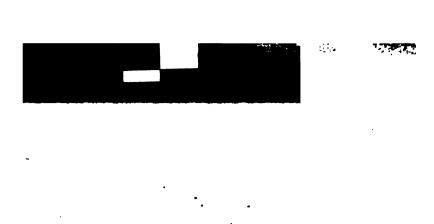
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